

Political - 1929
Party Affiliation

Republican.

Our Darkest Political Hour

There is a philosophy that reads, that the darkest hour of the night is just before the dawn of the day. If this philosophy holds good in politics, the Negro should have some hope of ultimate political freedom in the national life.

When the President permitted Colonel James Francis Burke to issue his famous "scrap" order, outlawing regular Republican organizations in the South, and setting up lily white patronage committees in the South, instead, and permitting those who assayed to represent him to follow up the order with the propaganda, that the President wanted a white Republican party in the South, he did more to increase race prejudice and to promote political intolerance than any President since the emancipation of the slaves.

No President has had a greater opportunity to plant hope and encouragement in the hearts of the American people than President Hoover. No President has had as great opportunity to literally love the nation into one insoluble family, and to wipe out race prejudice and religious bigotry than has President Hoover; and no President has contributed so little to this just cause of humanity.

President Hoover was ushered into public office as the world's greatest humanitarian. Jesus, only, had fed the multitudes of the earth at the time of famine as had the great World War Food Administration. It was heralded around the world that Herbert Hoover was too big to be little, and that he had been too busy serving God and humanity to develop race prejudice.

We preached from the platform to the people that Mr. Hoover was the best man from the standpoint of world training that the people ever had the opportunity to elect to the presidency, and it would be a national calamity for the people to lose the opportunity to avail themselves of his services; that by choice and training Mr. Hoover had lived to serve humanity and not races or classes. The people had the right to expect a new era in thought, business, and politics when Mr. Hoover came to judgment.

The nation looked to him as another Lincoln who would recognize the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God in dealing with the American people. Nobody expected to hear of a process of whitening the Republican South, or of blackening the Democratic Party, north in order to permanently break the solid South. The nation looked for a contest of the survival of the fittest, and for an equal opportunity for all, all the time.

Nobody expected the President to take charge of the Republican Party and undertake to run the party without politicians any more than he would undertake to run the Department of Justice without lawyers. But, when J. Francis Burke, late of the White House, issued the statement, as White House spokesman, that the President was going to scrap the party organization in the South that contributed so much to both his nomination and election because they had been trafficking in Federal patronage, the people began to see that the President was not a Lincoln, Roosevelt, or Coolidge, but a poor creature who had been flattered by a deceptive popular vote, and had been deceived into the belief that he could build up an effective party organization of the best white people in the South, if he would consent to the elimination of the Negro from the party by the same set of pie-hunters and carpet-baggers who have imposed their propaganda on every Republican administration since President Taft catered to the false doctrine of Negro-haters and Kluxers. Mr. Hoover was elected by a tremendous popular majority because the people thought he would be

able to equalize the tariff between industry and agriculture, solve the farm problem, and to suggest an economic policy that would insure labor a just share of the profits of its toil.

The Negro thought there would be no shutting of the door of hope and opportunity in his face; that there would be no abridgement of his political rights; that his right to hold office and be voted for would be as good as any other citizen; but these fond hopes went aglimmering when he saw that the scrapping of Southern party organizations meant only in those states where the Negro had a potent voice in the control of the party, and a hand in the distribution of patronage in the states—Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina. The indictment under which the party leaders in these states were condemned and politically lynched, without a hearing or a day in court, was, they have been selling Federal offices. Slemp, in Virginia; Creager, in Texas; Taylor, in Tennessee, and Street, in Alabama, were indicted in the states in the court of public opinion for the same offence, but no scraping was done in these states, because the accused were white.

The Negro must be facing his darkest hour before dawn. He is being effectually left off the program of the party everywhere. In the South party organizations are being swept aside without regard to party regularity. All patronage has been turned over to lily whites and Federal officeholders.

The Negro has been told by the action of the Administration at Washington that he is not needed and will not be until 1932, that wherever he is in evidence in the party organization, he must turn it over to the Kluxers and take a back seat and sit down. The Southern idea prevails, that this is a white man's country and the Negro is simply tolerated.

POST

WORCESTER, MASS.

NOV 14 1929

NEFARIOUS NEGRO VOTE PLAN

The Republican scheme to assist in the election of Negro Democrats to Congress from northern states, as uncovered by the Senate lobby investigating committee in letters which represent Vice President Curtis as having been favorably inclined toward it, reveals a resort to most unscrupulous methods, to say the least, in the efforts of the Republican party to influence those southern Democrats who bolted their party last year not to return to their party.

The revelations are all the more astounding as here seems to be little question as to their truth. A. Arnold, head of diversified lobbying organizations, identified the letters as having been written by him and so they disprove his contention that the scheme was merely a "political romance." Also it is significant that Mr. Arnold who projected the scheme, is now afflicted with shortness of memory concerning the plans to carry it out through the organization of a "Southern Republican Council."

According to the prospects issued, "the Negro question in southern Republican politics can best be eliminated through the election of Negro Democrats to Congress from St. Louis, Chicago, Harlem and other colored districts. This matter is in

capable hands."

Also the prospectus outlined as one of the objectives the securing of favorable tariff legislation. For special interests to resort to underhanded methods of this kind in efforts to influence tariff legislation is evidence of an amazing degree of corruption. In bringing it to the attention of the public the Senate's investigating committee is performing good service.

GOOD ADVICE TO THE NEGRO.

For years past The Observer has persistently directed the mind of the negroes of the South to the sane and sound leadership as developed at Tuskegee, initiated by Booker Washington and forwarded by Major Moton. Now arises Rev. P. Colfax Rameau, Ph. D., a negro leader in Alabama, with a letter of counsel to his race, copy of which was sent to The Manufacturers Record. It is counsel of the kind the negroes are in need of. It is counsel of the sort, if it could prevail among the negroes of the South, would leave but little cause, in the opinion of The Record, to expect trouble between the races, or any cessation of the steady and rapid progress the negro race has been making toward higher mental development and better living standards. Doctor Rameau directs his attention to the preposterous utterances of de Priest. His leaflet opens with the question: "Who shall the negro race follow? This demagogue politician Congressman of Chicago, Ill., Oscar de Priest, or the matchless negro leader? Dr. Booker T. Washington, though dead, yet speaketh and those memorable words spoken at the Atlanta Exposition, some 30 years ago, are still ringing down the corridor of Southern negro life:

"In all things that are purely social, we can be separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

"Stop and think on the words of this negro Moses when you read the political equality propaganda that is being disseminated throughout the country by this National political 'round-peg in a square-hole.'"

Rameau describes some of the benefits that have been secured by the negroes of Alabama: "a State-wide public school system that measures up to any in the South;" a class-A high school in Birmingham for negro boys and girls "a day in court," that is an impartial trial in every sense of the term;" the cutting up of large farms into small tracts, equipped with modern homes that negro tenants are allowed to purchase on easy terms, etc.

Reviewing these things, he gives his people some excellent advice, with impressive conclusion to this effect: "Our civilization must begin like all other races—in owning homes, home-pride, industry and thrift, and a sense of law and order. No homeless sojourners, pilgrims, and pleasure seekers, foot-loose and free

to wander at sweet will without any abiding equality propaganda, and in the last analysis he interest will ever be worth a 'tinker's damn.' will, like all others of his kind, get all that he Let your buckets down where you are, and let play the part of real men and women, and let Mr. de Priest go his way, with his political

NOV 16 1928

Republicans and the Negro

Revelations in the senate lobby investigating committee of a theme of the Republicans to bring about the nomination by the Democrats of negroes for Congress in St. Louis, Chicago and New York proves pretty conclusively that the Republican profession of love for the negro is a bit of arrant hypocrisy. The truth is that the Republican leaders, with the possible exception of the President (and he has doubtless seen a great light since the DePriest tea), would like to be rid of the negro. He is an incubus to them. They realize that in the South it will be impossible to build a permanent and successful Republican party as long as there is an alliance between the office brokers and the ignorant negroes for the manipulation of the party machinery.

In the North the case is a little different. In several states when a normal party vote is cast, the negro holds the balance of power. His vote is essential to the success of the Republicans. They dare not offend him. But if they could saddle a few negro congressional candidates off on the Democratic party then they could more openly embrace the negro in the North without jeopardizing party success in the South.

It was not any interest in the negro; it was no desire to see him elevated to political equality, that prompted the conspiracy to boost negro candidates on the Democrats of the North. On the other hand, the scheming politicians behind the conspiracy were perfectly willing to use the negroes as pawns and dupes so that their strategy in the South would be more successful. It affords additional evidence of the statement that we have repeatedly made in these columns and that is that at heart the Republican leaders have no special love for the negro, but they merely use him at elections as a foundation upon which to build an office brokerage machine. Few are the spoils that are permitted to fall to the negro although in some of the Southern states he may furnish the great bulk of the party vote.

The Democratic party of the South has been the true and consistent friend of the negro. It has never sought to deceive and delude him. It has dealt fairly and honestly with the negro. The marvelous progress that the negro has made has been due to the beneficent and kindly aid of Democratic state governments. They have never offered him social or political equality, but the Democrats of the South have given the negroes opportunities that they do not enjoy elsewhere. It is a policy that has proven best for the members of both races and one from which there must be no shadow of deviation.

NEW YORK WORLD

G. O. P. IS WARNED BY NEGRO WOMAN

Georgia Committee Member Hits
at "Lily White" Policy

CHARGES SHE IS IGNORED

Sees Defeat for Party Unless
Race Is Granted Consideration

In what she characterized as "a note of warning to the Republican Party from the White House down," Mrs. George S. Williams, Negro National Committee woman for Georgia and acting National Committeewoman, yesterday referred to the recent election in Virginia, which she said clearly indicates that the South is again solidly Democratic, and cautioned the Administration in Washington if it did not abandon its "Lily White" policy in the Southern States, the G. O. P. would lose the Negro vote in the Northern and border States.

Mrs. Williams is spending the Thanksgiving holidays in New York with relatives at No. 246 West 132nd Street.

Piqued over the failure of President Hoover and Republican leaders to accord her the consideration which she thinks due her, and resenting the growing influence of "Lily Whitemism" in her State, Mrs. Williams, after months of silence, made public her grievance.

Sees Party Drifting

"I am a Republican," she said. "In nearly seventy years of the party's existence its principles were those of right and justice and the leaders seemed imbued with the spirit of the fathers of the Republic; but under the present leadership it is breaking away from its original moorings.

"The party of Lincoln and Roosevelt has received a shocking spanking in some sections where it saw fit to flirt with the Klan, as in Virginia and Indiana. That lesson reads that any party of American progress and equality cannot form a liaison with race and religious bigots and succeed.

"Negro citizens welcome the union of the blue and gray, but not at this sacrifice. The Republican Party from the White House down, now knows that the desertion of Virginia, Florida,

North Carolina and Texas from Alfred E. Smith was just a political freak. It knows now that the South is again solidly Democratic, solidly anti-Catholic and solidly Nordic in its political complexion.

"It knows that it cannot look forward to 1932 and balance the Dixie vote against the black vote in the North. It realizes that if a Republican Party is to be maintained it must be through a clean and capable Negro leadership of the only real Republican in Dixie—the black Republicans.

"This is the firm foundation for Mr. Hoover to build on. 'Lily White' leadership is not only impossible but as suicidal as it is treacherous to party principles. The Republican Party must realize that if the Negro vote is to be kept in line a policy should be adopted of recognizing and rewarding clean capable Negro leadership in the South and rewarding with appointments and fraternal consideration the important Negro electorate of the North. I defy the accusing finger of graft and corruption, and there are many other Negro Republican leaders who can do likewise.

Warns Party Leaders

"In the North the battle between local Democratic organizations, like Tammany Hall in New York, and the Republican Party will continue, and to the disadvantage of the latter, unless it honestly outbids for the Negro vote. As a member of the Republican National Committee, and the highest ranking official of the party in Georgia, I feel it my solemn duty to warn the Republican Party to honestly protect and nourish its black wing if it is to continue to dominate the country's political affairs."

Mrs. Williams feels resentful against Claudius Huston, newly-elected Chairman of the Republican National Committee. She says she has been a member of the committee under five Chairmen, but Mr. Huston is the only one who has ignored her correspondence.

As Georgia is not represented in Congress by a Republican Senator or Representative, and the State has no Republican National Committee, Mrs. Williams maintains that favorable consideration should be given her recommendations for appointments. In this respect she charges she is ignored.

Mrs. Williams says that in the Administration's policy to ignore her and other Negro Southern leaders a Committee of Three, composed of James Francis Burke, Walter Newton and Walter H. Brown, was formed to deal with patronage in Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and later Florida; that she was assured that her prerogative as National Committeewoman would be respected, but instead she was put in the background for "Lily Whites."

REPORT BRANDS ANTI-RACE LOBBY REPREHENSIBLE

Senate Group Investigates Operations Of

J. A. Arnold

TALKED TO CURTIS

Would Eliminate The Negro As Political Factor

Washington, D. C., Dec. 24.—Operations of J. A. Arnold, manager of the Southern Tariff Association, who sought to organize the Southern Republican Council for the purpose of eliminating the Negro as a political factor, were branded as reprehensible in the fourth partial report of the judiciary subcommittee investigating lobbying activities in the Senate by Senator T. H. Caraway, Democrat, of Arkansas, last Friday.

Arnold himself was denounced by Senator Caraway as "utterly without any regard for veracity." Senator Caraway stated that "it did not embarrass him at all to make a statement and then produce a letter showing that the opposite was the truth. He would deny his own signature in order to try to escape from a situation as to which he did not want to disclose the real facts."

The committee reported that there is no such thing as a Southern Tariff Association, but it and kindred organizations were "all aliases, under which one J. A. Arnold operates ostensibly to influence congressional legislation, but in fact for the purpose of making a living for himself and a small group associated with him."

That part of the subcommittee's report dealing with his efforts to organize the Southern Republican Council is as follows:

"One of the various organizations which Arnold attempted to effect, but which failed to materialize, was the Southern Republican Council. Its purpose, as set out in an elaborate circular prepared by Arnold, was to promote the interest of the Republican party in the South by electing Negroes on the Democratic ticket in the North to equalize the situation, as he expressed it, by blackening the Democratic party in the North rather than by attempting to whiten the Republican party in the South.

"It offered an ambitious program consisting of: 1, White leadership; 2, protective tariff; 3, sound taxation; 4, flood control; 5, southern representation in Congress and Cabinet; 6, elimination of the Negro as a political factor; 7, revision of election and registration statutes; 8, managerial plan for city and county governments; 9, southern state, congressional, district county and precinct committees.

"Arnold, having disclaimed any knowledge of the Southern Republican Council, was confronted with the following letter written by him to Muse: 'Dear Mr. Muse: I went with the darkey today to see Vice President Curtis and he thought well of our Negro congressman idea but said it was a

matter that should be taken up with Mr. Hoover and that he would talk with Hoover about it. They all seem to want to get Hoover's idea about it first.

"Curtis said he had thought of getting a better grade of Negroes to lead in the South but I told him that would not be the complete remedy.

"Our line of approach is much more acceptable to politicians and to the Negroes of equalizing by blackening the Democratic party than by whitening the Republican party; the Negroes will go in revolt over the plan of kicking them out of the party or of leadership; they will have to take themselves out of the way for the present line; they all see that the race problem must be solved first before anything further can be done; we have the best solution yet.

"Think you should get Dr. Lewis here on the 10th and start something; we will never get anywhere talking around in circles; if necessary to see Hoover before it starts off, then go see him and get his decision.

"ARNOLD."

Operations Reprehensible
Though he denied, in the first place, being the author of the circular, he subsequently admitted it was his work, his letter to Muse shows.

"The above are but instances of many in which the testimony of the witness was shown to be false either by documentary evidence, his own admissions, or other evidence, not to speak about his general demeanor, and the evasiveness of his replies to direct questions propounded to him.

"On the whole, the committee is of the opinion that the operations here reported are reprehensible in the highest degree, even though no specific statute, penal in nature, may have been violated. Certainly it is a type of lobbying against which the public ought to be protected by appropriate legislation."

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HOOVER TREADS ON DANGEROUS GROUND

The recent statement issued by President Herbert Hoover, discussing and dealing with Republican party organization in several of the Southern states, has created quite a furore in political circles not only in the affected states, but throughout the country, and many Americans of both races are still endeavoring to analyze and comprehend the full import of the presidential announcement.

For instance, the president censures the conduct of partisan affairs by Republican leaders in South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi, while commending the partisan leaders in Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas and Florida.

Here is what President Hoover has to say about three Dixie commonwealths:

"Recent exposures of abuse in recommendations for federal office, particularly in some parts of the states of South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi, under which some federal departments, mainly the post-office, were misled in appointments, obviously render it impossible for the old organizations in those states to command the confidence of the administration, although many members of these organizations are not subject to criticism. But such conditions are intolerable to public service, are repugnant to the ideals and purposes of the Republican party, are unjust to the people of the South and must be ended. The duty of reorganization so as to correct these conditions rests with the people of those states, and all efforts to that end will receive the hearty cooperation of the administration."

No honest American can disagree with the chief executive and titular leader of the Republican party in his effort to clean up the Republican household, but it strikes The Informer that all the charges of graft, crookedness, abuse of and malfeasance in office can not be directed at the Republican party leaders in only three Southern states; for if our memory serves us correctly (since Mr. Hoover is discussing misdeeds of past years), several cabinet members and other high governmental officials were even indicted and tried for the commission of criminal acts and a few of them are now serving time in the federal prison.

Why did President Warren G. Harding die under such peculiar circumstances, and why all the expose of graft and crookedness on the part of several members of the Harding cabinet (of which Mr. Hoover was then a member) immediately following the demise of Mr. Harding?

Though a member of the Harding-Coolidge cabinet for nearly eight years, and, despite the fact that some members of this cabinet were accused of stealing everything from naval oil to the dome off of the capitol, our present president never opened his mouth about "abuses" and "intolerable conditions;" and even while making his race for the presidency, he was as mute as a clam on such subjects.

If Mr. Hoover and his partisan advisers want to get at the root of this evil and are really sincere in their desire to purify the Republican party, The Informer does not deem it necessary for them to run pellmell into three Dixie states and hold these states up to the nation and world as the most reprehensible and repugnant examples of partisan crookedness and dishonesty.

At the close of the Harding-Coolidge presidential campaign in

1920, the Republican national executive committee, headed then by Will Hays of Indiana and controlled largely by Harry Daugherty of Ohio, faced a huge deficit in excess of \$2,000,000; and these party leaders, with the apparent endorsement of President Harding, levied certain financial quotas upon the several states. Since the Southern states had very few rich Republicans, who were able to contribute large sums of money to liquidate this party indebtedness, it is alleged that certain national party leaders and distributors of federal pie agreed to permit party leaders in the Dixie states to barter federal offices in order to reimburse themselves for their quota, or as a means of raising their allotted amount.

South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi were not the only states in the South which pursued this course, and aside from raising their quotas through the sale of federal offices, some of these Dixie G. O. P. leaders have really made money for themselves and their friends, according to rumors current in said states.

It is oddly strange that of the three states accused of bartering federal offices and other wrongdoing, two have colored national committeemen and committeewomen.

After all, what is behind this Hoover statement?

Is he trying to sound the death-knell to the active participation of colored Republicans in the affairs and councils of the party in the states and nation, and is this in line with a national plan to make the party "lily-white" in the South?

Is it additional political sop being dished out to the South in the vain hope that this section will become enamored of the Republican party, and that the proverbial political lion and lamb will lie down together?

We are with President Hoover and party leaders in any honest and sincere desire and program to "clean house" in the Republican party, but we can not agree with the chief executive that Texas is among those Southern states which are "now rendering able and conscientious service in maintaining wholesome organizations."

Whether the president knows it or not, he is treading on dangerous ground, and he should wait until he has been in office long enough to know all the facts in the cases before giving out such a statement.

HOOVER AND THE SOUTH

Many, many have been our thoughts concerning the reports through the public press to the effect that President Hoover has given his approval to a plan to take from the Negro whatever leadership he has in the South and put it into the hands of the so called Lily Whites in an effort to build up a Republican party in the South.

As we see it, and we are not judging hastily, it looks to us that the President is "kidding" himself if he thinks for one moment that there is the remotest chance of building a Republican party in the South at this time or as long as this country is conducted on a half slave and half free basis, as it is now operated.

We wonder if Mr. Hoover thinks for one moment that the mere fact that such states as Texas, Florida, Virginia, and North Carolina, which gave him a majority vote last November, is an indication that these states are any more Republican today than they were a year ago, or two years ago. Surely everybody knows that it was a case of voting against, rather than voting for. It

was against the Catholic Church and liquor and not necessarily United States with impunity and that as long as the South declares its inability to cope with mob violence or is careless and indifferent to such mob violence, there will never be any hope of a Republican party in the South.

We note that President Hoover, after citing present conditions in some of the states which he says are repugnant to the mem-ideals of the Republican party, enlarges on his statement by saying that if these states are unable to bring about a change in conditions, the different federal departments will be compelled to adopt other methods in order to carry out his wishes. In other words, the President is willing to use all the powers of the federal government to take the little political power from the Negro in these states, but he hasn't said a word about using the power of the federal government to enforce the United States Constitution as regards the disfranchisement of the Negroes and the over representation which the South has in the United States Congress, as the results of such disfranchisement. A paragraph which the newspapers quote, giving the views

In 1920, the Republicans controlled largely by Will Hays of Indiana and controlled in excess of \$2,000,000; and they faced a huge deficit in endorsement of President Taft in Ohio, with the apparent endorsement of President Wilson.

For instance, the president censured the fair by Republican leaders in South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi, while commending the partisan leaders in Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas and Florida.

"Recent exposures of abuse in recommendations of the states of South Carolina, states."

mainly the post-office, were among those states to commit themselves and Hoover statement, "it is impossible for the old organizations in those states to do so." After all, what is behind this Hoover statement, which is so often quoted by the active participants in the movement?

[illegible]

No honest American can deny the fact that the Republican party in his effort to clean up the government has a sincere desire and program to clean up the government. The Informer that all and sincere desire and program to clean up the government. The Informer that all and sincere desire and program to clean up the government.

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on the part of several members of the House immediately following the death of a member) has given his approval to a plan to leave it in the hands of the South and put it into the hands of the people of the South.

Though a member of the League of Nations, and despite the fact that some members of this party in the South. As we see it, and we are not judging hastily, it looks

the dome off of the capitol, our present predicament is intolerable conditions," and even moment that there is the removal of the "buses" and "the South at this time or as long as this condition exists as it is."

Mr. Hoover thinks for one moment that

The Informer does not deem it necessary for mere race reasons to hold these states Carolina, which gave him a majority vote last November are any more Republican today

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At the close of the

of the President on this subject, is here submitted for your consideration. It is as follows:

The duty of reorganization, so as to correct these conditions rests with the people of those states, and all efforts to that end will receive the hearty cooperation of the administration. If these three states are unable to initiate such organization through the leadership of men who will command confidence and protect the public service, the different federal departments will be compelled to adopt other methods to secure advice as to the selection of federal employees.

As we note the apparent interest which Mr. Hoover seems to manifest in this matter, and, at the same time, seeing that he appears to be indifferent to the more weighty matters which affect the South, we can't but wonder again—What is it all about? What does it mean in the mind of the President?

ALREADY BEGINNING TO SMELL BAD!



Political-1929

Party Affiliation

NEWS

STAUNTON, VA.

NOV 8 1929

They Are Back At Home

(Richmond News Leader)

Smith polled 140,146 votes in support of the candidate of Anderson and Cannon. If this happened then, of course, the actual vote given the coalition ticket by Democratic malcontents is problematical. But on the face of the returns it seems safe to say that the Anti-Smith coalitionist brought into the Republican camp nothing beyond the Ku Klux Klan and a few dissatisfied anti-saloon leaders who wanted to avenge themselves on Byrd, Glass and Swanson. The coalition army consisted only of generals and that year the Negroes split with the other Republicans and nominated John Mitchell, Jr. He got 5,097 votes. The total Republican vote in 1921 consequently was just below 69,000. Yesterday it was approximately 24,000 greater. But Pollard's vote was larger by 22,000 than that given Trinkle. The net gain in the Republican vote, therefore, in eight years of Republican control of the federal administration has been only 2,000. This is hardly more than the normal accretion in Republican strength throughout the coming into Virginia of Northern business men who have been Republican all their lives. Over, they said nothing, but yesterday found them back at home. In the fact that after all the tumult and the boasts, the major party against Brown will be approximately 2,000 above the memorable 63,000 majority piled up against Henry Anderson eight years ago. After capitalizing to the fullest all the discontent aroused last year, the Republicans who led this campaign are as badly defeated as they were when they made a straight bi-partisan fight in 1921. The outcome vindicates to the letter the judgment of cool-headed, old-time Republicans, who said all along that

their party would fare better in this election by making a contest on its own account than by following Mr. Anderson's advice and tying up with the cause of clericalism and discontent.

It is possible that a small element of the Republican party revolted this year rather than support the candidate of Anderson

Unanimous for Him

NEGRO SENIORS DROP OUT

Moore and Hawkins Too Busy They Tell Koenig

Joseph Clark Baldwin 3d, of the 15th District, Manhattan, was chosen leader of the Republicans in the Board of Aldermen at a meeting of four members of the minority with Samuel S. Koenig, New York County Chairman, yesterday afternoon.

The two Negro Republican Aldermen Fred R. Moore and John C. Hawkins of Harlem, both of whom outranked Baldwin in length of service, voluntarily waived their claims to the leadership. Chairman Koenig announced at the conclusion of the conference. The concurrence of the fourth Alderman, Frank A. Manzella of the 20th District, Manhattan, made the choice of Baldwin unanimous.

The minority leader receives a salary of \$7,500, instead of \$5,000 as an ordinary Alderman. Heretofore seniority has been the controlling factor in his selection. The defeat of Frank J. Dotzler, Republican Alderman from the 6th District, left the minority leadership open.

Both Hawkins and Moore have served full terms and were re-elected. Baldwin has served only since March, when Mrs. Ruth Pratt left the board to go to Congress. Almost from the beginning he has carried on her tactics of criticism of Tammany policies.

Chairman Koenig said there had been complete harmony in the conference. Neither Hawkins nor Moore, he said, had the time to devote to the job. And Manzella also, he said, considered himself too busy to assume the burden. Mr. Baldwin, he pointed out, has entered upon politics as a career, and is well equipped for the job.

Chairman Koenig, in whose county live all of the Republican Aldermen, called the conference to forestall any possibility of a deadlock between the two Negro Aldermen and the two junior members of the contingent.

Republican

THE DIRTY WORK OF THE G. O. P.

It was generally remarked throughout the United States during the Presidential campaign last year that the campaign conducted in behalf of the Republican ticket

was the vilest, most vicious and most unprincipled in the country's recent history. It was apparent that the dirty work in the interests of the Republican ticket was done not only with the knowledge and consent of the party's national leaders, but with their active connivance and participation as well.

During the campaign certain developments established the truth of the accusation that the Republican leaders were responsible for the foul methods resorted to by Republican campaigners. Since then the latest piece of evidence directly connecting the party's leadership with the underhand activities of the campaign is contained in the testimony before the Senate lobby committee in Washington Tuesday of J. A. Arnold, manager of the Southern States Tariff Association, who disclosed the plan to "blacken the Democratic Party" in order to "hold in line" the Southern States which went for Hoover.

The plan was to put Negro candidates in the race for Congressional seats in the North as Democrats. During his examination by the Senate lobby committee, Arnold acknowledged correspondence and documents which disclosed the program for "blackening the Democratic Party." The correspondence revealed that Arnold had taken the scheme up with Vice-President Curtis, and Curtis in turn, it was testified, had "referred the scheme along to President Hoover."

The testimony before the Senate committee disclosed that the idea was to organize the Southern Republican Council and get Negro candidates in the Congressional races as Democrats in St. Louis, Chicago and New York. According to the Associated Press report, a letter from Arnold to Vance Muse, field representative of the Southern Tariff Association, contained the information that Arnold went "with the darkey today to see Vice-President Curtis and he thought well of our Negro Congressman idea, but he said it was a matter that should be taken up with Mr. Hoover and that he would talk with Hoover about it." The "darkey" in question was not identified.

"Curtis," the letter continued, "said he thought of getting a better grade of Negroes to lead in the South, but I told him that would not be the complete remedy."

"Our line of approach is much more acceptable to politicians and to Negroes of equalizing by blackening the Democratic Party than by whitening the Republican Party; the Negroes will go in revolt over the plan of kicking them out of the party or of leadership; they will have to take themselves out of the way for the present."

Another letter written by Arnold to Muse, according to the Associated Press, said that, in regard to the council, "it all seems to swing around Hoover." The letter continued that he (Hoover) "seems to have given the impression among his associates that he is personally interested in the South and wants to handle it." It added also, "I have no doubt he will welcome any aid or assistance but the only thing to do is to go ahead with it." Farther on the letter said that the "crux of it all is the Negro question which the regular Republican Party cannot solve; they have tried it for fifty years and made no progress."

This scheme seems to have been originated since the inauguration of President Hoover. Arnold told the Senate committee that nothing came of the organization. But there can be little doubt that a similar scheme was put into effect by the Republican Party in the Presidential campaign. Everyone will remember the effort that was made during the campaign to "blacken the Democratic Party. Various sales were told by Republican workers, sales of the employment of Negroes at the State Capitol at Albany, of Tammany Hall's connection with Negroes in New York City, and so forth. And as a matter of actual fact, a Negro ran as a Democratic candidate for Congress in St. Louis last year. There can be hardly a doubt that this St. Louis effort to "blacken the Democratic Party" during the Presidential campaign had its origin in the Republican party.

It has been definitely established that the Republican Party's leaders last year were responsible for the appeal to religious prejudice. The Republicans financed the underhanded campaign of religious intolerance, maintaining, however, a sep-

NEW YORK WORLD

DEC 3 1929
BALDWIN TO LEAD

G. O. P. ALDERMEN

Four Republicans of Minority

It was a foul Presidential campaign that was waged in behalf of the Republican ticket. And it is clear enough that the heads of the Republican ticket not only knew of the underhanded campaign methods employed in their behalf and condoned these practices, but actually con-
vived in the planning of the dirty work and financed the activities.

Mrs. George S. Williams is the only member of the Republican National Committee from Georgia, and thereby is the National Committeewoman and also acting Committeeman from that State. But, according to her story, she has been utterly ignored in either capacity, so far as President Hoover and the Republican leaders are concerned, in dealing with Federal appointments in Georgia. Mrs. Williams also resents the attitude of Claudius Huston, the newly elected chairman of the National Committee, who she claims has ignored her correspondence, being the only one of the five chairmen she has addressed, to be guilty of that discourtesy.

forced in the background to make room
for the Lilywhites. 12-7-44

Now, Mrs. Williams is not the sort of woman to take this treatment sitting down. She has risen to publish her grievance and to denounce those whom she holds responsible for it, from the President down. She warns all these Republican leaders that the recent election in Virginia carried a lesson for them to learn, that the South is again solidly Democratic. That any Lilywhite policy entered upon to conciliate the white Democrats of the South is liable to alienate Negro votes in the Northern and border states. Flirting with the Klan has already got the party a spanking in Virginia and Indiana, and teaches that a liaison cannot be effected with race and religious bigots with any lasting prospect of success.

Mrs. Williams declares that if the Republican party is to be maintained in the South, it must be through a clean and capable leadership of "the only real Republicans in Dixie, the black Republicans." She insists that this is the only firm foundation for Mr. Hoover to build upon, if he wants to get results in the South. Of Lilywhite leadership she denounced as "not only impossible but as suicidal as it is treacherous to party principles." She insisted that the Republican party must realize, if the Negro vote is to be kept in line, a policy should be adopted of recognizing and rewarding capable Negro leadership in the South, and rewarding with appointments and fraternal consideration the important Negro electorate of the North. She defied the accusing finger of graft and corruption and declared that there are many other Republican leaders who can do likewise.

a Mrs. Williams has made a courageous and candid statement of her case, as it affects the general political situation, both North and South. Her clear and outspoken utterances should be heeded by those who are responsible for the present anomalous situation, that prevails in Georgia and other Southern states.

re-and other Southern states.

The famous edict of President Hoover scrapping black and tan organizations in the states of Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina and approving of the lily white requirements of public service.

organizations in other Southern States has been recalled by President Hoover to taunt the advocates of a strong white Republican party in Dixie. *Failure* United States be flouted by Federal officials; no longer shall public a letter from Presidential office be regarded as mere politeness telling the new Florida Republican organization that these public service.

success of the Republican party "I note your demands that the
ests on good government, not organization shall dictate appoint-
patronage. 11-1-29 ments, irrespective of merit or my
It was alleged patronage abuses responsibly, and that you appeal
n the states of Georgia, Missis- to opponents of the Administration
issippi and South Carolina which lecto attack me. I enclose herewith
President Hoover to issue his state-copy of statement which I issued
nent last March. It was a rowlast March. That statement was
over patronage that caused him to no idle gesture"
write his letter of rebuke to the
Florida organization.

The letter was addressed to Fred Britten, secretary of the Republican State organization of Florida who had protested against President Hoover's disregard of the organization's recommendations for filling the district attorneyship in the southern district of Florida.

In the background of the patronage Florida row is the whole scheme of eliminating the Negro and building up a lily white Republican party in the South. Col. Horace A. Mann, Hoover's southern campaign director, is believed to be inciting the feud. President Hoover placed responsibility for reorganization of the party in the South in the hands of a committee composed of Postmaster General Walter F. Brown, White House Secretary Walter H. Newton, and James Francis Burke, general counsel of the Republican National Committee. This committee rejected the plans of Col. Mann for the reorganization of the party in the South, and the forces of Col. Mann are planning a rump convention to be held in Atlanta to protest against recognition of members of the black and tan organizations and build an organization of "decent" and "respectable" Southern Republicans.

The President's letter deals with this conflict. "It is the natural desire of the Administration," wrote

the President, "to build up and strengthen the Republican party in Florida. That can be done in co-operation with the state organization if the organization presents candidates who measure up to my requirements of public service.

n "This is an obligation in the in-
i-terest of the people of the state
ssand first tenet in that program is
hat no longer shall the laws of the
United States be flouted by Fed-
ederal officials; no longer shall pub-
lic office be regarded as mere po-
litical patronage, but that it shall
be public service.

“I note your demands that the organization shall dictate appointments, irrespective of merit or my responsibility, and that you appeal to opponents of the Administration to attack me. I enclose herewith a copy of statement which I issued last March. That statement was

NEW YORK WORLD

NOV 7 1966
THE NEW ASSEMBLY

So long as a grossly unjust apportionment rule prevails in the State Constitution, depriving the cities of their fair representation, nothing but a political earthquake can shake the Republican majority out of its seat in the Assembly. In the circumstances it is not to be expected that the Democrats will have gained three seats on balance for Democratic purposes. The party was doing very well. Of course, a division that leaves the Republicans still in a majority of more than twenty in a body of 150 members falls utterly short of reflecting the relative strength of the parties in the State; it deprives great centres of population of their rightful influence in lawmaking at Albany.

In ability and earnestness of purpose, if not numerically, New York City will be well represented. The Democratic majority sends a number of able men of excellent calibre, ably led by Mr. Bloch with his fourteen years of experience. Mr. Posner, the normally Republican 10th District wins by 2,000 votes, against 440 last year. Mr. Rivers of the 19th will speak for the Negro people of Harlem. Unfortunately no Socialist is elected. Such Republican Assemblymen from Manhattan as Messrs. Lefkowitz and Moffat should be welcome and useful in the State House. They may be lonely; the Bronx, Brooklyn and Queens delegations are solidly Democratic.

With the swift increase in State activities and State expenditure, the work of the Legislature grows yearly in importance. There are men of ability and character on both sides of the fence

can be measured solely by the test of promised public welfare.

Party Affiliation

The Negro Is the Paramount Issue.

In the 1928 presidential campaign, the candidates of the two major parties vied with each other paramounting issues. The Democratic candidate labored hard to make religious freedom and Republican corruption the issue; the Republican candidate put forth equal effort to make farm relief and the tariff the main questions. The Race Question was raised only in the South by the lily whites and kluxers, who were synonyms of race hatred and religious and political intolerance.

But, since the election and inauguration of our new President, farm relief, tariff reduction, prohibition, waterways, Muscle Shoals, and every other question has been relegated to the rear, and the Negro question paramounted as the all-absorbing issue.

During the campaign farm relief was the burning issue; more attention was paid to the Corn Belt by the Republican Party than any other section of our country. Herculean efforts were prosecuted to secure the farm vote. The East was told the tariff was the one panacea for all of its economic ills. But, since the election the one idea has been "white supremacy" north and south, and the elimination of the Negro from the Republican Party.

The new Postmaster General has not hesitated to say that he believed it impossible to build a real opposition party in the South with Negro leadership, or as a potent factor; that he believed in Negroes leading Negroes north and south, but in white men leading the party north and south. Under his interpretation of party control, the Negro should neither hold office under the government or position in the councils of the party. The titular head of the party comes along and goes the Postmaster General one better, by saying, it has been the ambition of former Republican presidents to build a real Republican Party in the South, and that the best interests of the government rest upon the two party system, and in lieu of certain conditions in some parts of certain states in the South, he would disregard party organizations of fifty years standing, that had been hitting on all six cylinders for a half century, and turn the emoluments of war over to new blood with a view of building a real Republican opposition party to the Democratic Party in the South.

The color line is strongly raised in this statement, and is made more significant when the policies, as outlined, are confined only to those states in which the Negro is a potent political factor. The new order of things at Washington seems to think that if only two of the one hundred and two members of the Republican National Committee are Negroes, the lone two dominate the party, and keep white men and women from joining the party, in spite of the policies and principles for which the party stands; and since the presence of the Negro in the party councils is obnoxious to the South, the Negro must be kicked out in order to build a party that will appeal to the white folks, notwithstanding such action violates both the letter and spirit of the Federal Constitution.

It is an awful and deplorable condition of affairs in any country when human rights must be burned upon the altar of race prejudice to repair political fences, or to build up political parties.

We are with the President for a clean house; nobody supported him, or believed in him more sincerely than we did before and after his inauguration, but we do not believe in making stone of one people and flesh of another. We believe what is sauce for the goose ought to be sauce for the gander.

If Creager, in Texas, and Tolbert, in South Carolina, are guilty

of the same crimes against the public morals and good government, as the Brookhart Committee has propagated, why destroy Tolbert and save Creager. Is the differential based upon the fact that Tolbert's organization is 60 per cent Negro and Creager's organization 100 per cent white? Has it come to the point, if you carry a state Republican, you can bargain and sell federal patronage, but if you fail to carry the state, I will destroy your organization by giving the patronage to John Doe, who promises to build a strong opposition white party exclusive of Negroes. Then, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution mean nothing; the Civil War was fought in vain and its results are to be nullified; Lincoln, McKinley, Douglas, and Roosevelt lived for naught, and died for no purpose as a result of the patriotic services they spent their lives in trying to render their fellowmen.

This is an age of commercialism and the suppression of human rights, and the white man who aligns himself for the principles of the party as enunciated by Lincoln, is marked for slaughter; and the Republican Party seems to be drifting into adopting the policy of the Democratic Party, that this is a white man's country, and the Negro has no rights that a white man is bound to respect.

Can Hoover Deodorize Southern Republicanism?

Beginning With Hayes, Most Republican Presidents Have Tried to Build Up a Respectable Republican Party in the South—Little Hoover Vote.

Commercial Appeal

BY JOSEPHUS DANIEL

I see in the papers that the Republican organization is to be reformed again, that the new president, it is said, will be near by and other Southern Republicans are determined once again to use "respectable" to make it portance if it was not alien. By the way, did Hayes build up "a strong and respectable" Republican party in the south? If so, what became of it? If not, it was not because his action in withdrawing the troops was an act for which the south thanks him to this day. That withdrawal saved the south from continued corruption. Incidentally, it let the south govern itself—a real "self-determination," though it put an end to a strong Republican party in all the southern states except those on the border.

Do you remember how Hayes made it "strong" and "respectable" by refusing to recognize the carpet-bag governments put in by his party and appointed Key, from Tennessee, as postmaster general? It always looked like a trade when Hayes received the electoral vote of South Carolina and Louisiana and Florida and the Democrats got control of the states. Far be it from me to intimate that Hayes would make a trade or Wade Hampton sanction it. These men were far above it. But there were "visiting statesmen" from the north, some of whom would have agreed to most anything to get the presidency for their party, and they didn't care anything about the carpet-bag politicians and the negroes. In fact, if they could hold the government at Washington, they'd be rather glad to see their disreputable allies ousted. And there were not wanting southern politicians who felt that control of their state governments was essential for the preservation of their civilization, and the government at Washington was of secondary importance.

Remember when Garfield and Harrison came in how the plan of a "respectable" Republican party in the south was widely advertised? General Longstreet became a Republican officeholder, and some others. The result? General Longstreet was accused of having failed Lee at Gettysburg, recently revived by Stephen Vincent Benet in "John Brown's Body," where he makes this pen picture of Longstreet:

"Dutch Longstreet follows slow, pugnacious and stubborn. Hard to beat and just as hard to convince. Fine corps commander, good bulldog for holding on. But dangerous when he tries to think for himself. He thinks for himself too much at Gettysburg. But before and after he grips with tenacious jaws."

The appointment of that Confederate general didn't change but two votes in the whole south, as later elections demonstrated.

The Lovable McKinley.

McKinley won the heart of the south when he called for decorating the graves of Confederate soldiers and made that memorable speech at Atlanta that brought better comradeship between those who wore the gray and those who wore the blue. The south then loved McKinley. It honors him now. But it didn't go Republican, though if personal regard could have won it McKinley would have turned the trick.

The Rough Rider Attracted.

Then came Roosevelt. He attracted more young men in the south than any president of his day. They liked his versatility, his courage and daring. And he put a southern man of ability in his cabinet. He won Joel Chandler Harris and other writers. Moreover, his mother was born in Georgia. He was half southern. He fought "the malefactors of great wealth," at least part of the time. He won his spurs in the Spanish-American War. He put some good men in office. He preached a respectable Republican party, and made negroes mad by his Brownsville attitude. But—did he make a "respectable Republican party" in the south? If so, when did it evaporate?

The Beloved Taft.

Mr. Taft not only named a southern Democrat in his cabinet, but named a Confederate soldier, Justice White of Louisiana, chief justice and elevated the federal bench in the south by the best judicial appointments of 40 years. Everybody in the south loved him. But, as he once said, "The people of the south like me. Many love me. They would do anything for me except vote for me."

Harding ran the regulation southern policy, depending on the Stamps and the like. And Coolidge followed in the old lines. Both wanted a "respectable Republican party in the south" but they knew it could not be had except by kicking out those who had borne the heat and burden of the day, and who could be relied upon to furnish the delegates to the national convention. They refused to boot the regulars in the hope of getting some lily whites.

Who Will Wash the River Rhine?

And now President Hoover is quoted he will undertake to reorganize the Republican party—have a "sound organization"—select advisers from the best men and effect the "respectable" Republican party. Hardly has that proclamation gone out until it has been approved by every Republican little boss in the south. They are all throwing up their hats for reform with a big "R." They think Hoover is going to put up a good show window and then name the same

old crowd. If Hoover is in earnest and has a lily white party, they'll show him "the thing can't be did."

Here's Hoping.

The best people in the south will hope Mr. Hoover will give enough time to the job to do a job of regular house cleaning. If he does, he will kick out nine-tenths of the present office holders in the south, ask most of the state chairmen and national committeemen to resign "for the good of the party" and use the Hoover vacuum cleaner from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. This will not insure his carrying a single southern state in 1932, but it will put an end to a long and disgusting traffic in office in every southern state which has been a disgrace to the country.

The South Is Democratic.

Those who think, because the electoral vote of a number of southern states were cast for Hoover last November, that they voted Republican are superficial in their knowledge. Hoover did not receive 5 per cent more votes in the south as affirmative votes than were cast for Coolidge or for Harding, and both of them carried some southern states. Texas and North Carolina and Florida and the other southern states were almost lost to the Democrats when Governor Smith was nominated and sent his anti-prohibition message to Houston. He completed their loss when he went into the Association Against Prohibition and the Union League Club for a chairman of the Democratic national committee. In the campaign Republican speakers in North Carolina urged voters to cast their ballots against Smith because he was wet, because he was a Catholic, because he belonged to Tammany, because he was a city product. They stressed all four and particularly Catholic and wet. It was these four things that gave Hoover the electoral votes for he was no more popular in the south than McKinley, Roosevelt or Taft.

North Carolina, for Example.

The appeals by dry Democrats and anti-Catholic orators against Smith gave Hoover the electoral vote in North Carolina and increased Republican representation in Congress and in the Legislature. In the same election Gardner, Democrat, was elected governor by a majority of 72,594, and the whole Democratic state ticket by a like majority. It was an anti-Smith vote, not Republican, last November and will not be Republican in the next election. Those Republicans who expect it to go Republican again are the first cousins to the men who spend their time building castles in Spain and chasing butterflies.

WHAT ABOUT TEXAS, MR. PRESIDENT?

Last week, in discussing, editorially, President Herbert Hoover's public statement condemning the Republican leadership in South Carolina, Mississippi and Georgia, and praising the party leadership and policy in several other Southern states, including Texas, The Informer stated that this paper feared that Mr. Hoover was rather premature in his pronouncement, and that he should have waited until he had been in the presidential chair long enough to know the real facts about "abuses" and "intolerable conditions" amongst partisan leaders in Dixie.

Before the ink was dry on the paper containing said editorial (marked copy of which was mailed the chief executive), the senatorial patronage investigation committee, headed by Senator Brookhart of Iowa disclosed that it had in its possession information and affidavits laying bare the fact that certain Ku Klux Klan leaders of Texas are alleged to have paid the titular head of the Republican party in this state, the sum of \$25,000 to get the name of Dr. George C. Butte, Austin professor, on the Republican ticket for governor in 1924, in opposition to Mrs. M. A. Ferguson, the Democratic nominee and bitter foe of the hooded order.

If federal offices have not been bartered and trafficked in Texas, why did over 300 postmasters and other federal office-holders make out notes to the Texas Republican organization between May, 1921, and January 1, 1922, for the sum of \$66,000?

According to testimony submitted to the senatorial investigation committee by Congressman Harry M. Wurzbach, Republican representative from the Fourteenth Congressional District of Texas, notes totaling more than \$200,000 were made payable to the Creager regime during the Harding-Coolidge administrations; and this huge amount did not take into consideration cash paid into the coffers of the Texas G. O. P. chieftains by federal appointees during this period.

If these federal office-holders were voluntary contributors to the party exchequer in Texas, why did they obligate themselves by making out notes to the party leaders?

Is this note-making practice pursued in Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Florida, Kentucky and Tennessee, some of the states whose administration of partisan affairs was so highly commended by the president?

If party leaders of a state will sell the gubernatorial nomination to the highest bidder, where no primary election is held, as is alleged in the Butte incident in 1924, when the Creager machine literally forced T. P. Lee of Houston to decline the gubernatorial nomination after the Houston Republican had issued a statement to Mrs. Ferguson which incurred the wrath and displeasure of Mr. Creager, isn't it possible that these same party leaders would also attach a financial consideration to federal offices?

During the memorable gubernatorial race between Dr. Butte and Mrs. Ferguson in 1924, The Informer refused to support the Austin educator and contended that he was not a Republican, but a "klan candidate;" and this paper further charged that an unholy alliance and under-cover agreement had been entered into between klan leaders and the Republican bosses in Texas.

If it is a fact that a group of ku kluxers at Beaumont made up a \$20,000 fund and gave same to Creager in 1924 to get Dr. Butte's name on the Republican ticket for governor, and that Creager later demanded and exacted another \$5,000 for the act (the money being borrowed from a Dallas bank on a note by Z. E. Marvin), as alleged in communications from white Texans now in the hands of the Brookhart committee, then Mr. Hoover has placed his official stamp of approval upon a state party leadership which is as

mercenary and venal, if not more so, than that in the three Dixie states literally read out of the party by President Hoover.

We wonder if President Hoover knows that the Republican party leaders in Texas have made no real effort to build up a strong party in this state, and that the fact that Texas went Republican in the last presidential election was due to the religious issue and liquor question?

Does the president realize the fact that had not the Democratic party nominated Governor Alfred E. Smith, a Catholic, his vote in the South would have been as negligible as that received by all his Republican predecessors?

We wonder if Mr. Hoover has been given the "low down" on the Texas situation among Republicans?

Why has the Creager regime come to the parting of the ways with Congressman Wurzbach, and why has the G. O. P. state organization been working with might and main since 1926 to bring about the congressman's defeat?

ISN'T THE QUESTION OF FEDERAL PATRONAGE AT THE BOTTOM OF THIS BITTER POLITICAL FEUD BETWEEN THESE REPUBLICAN LEADERS?

What does President Hoover know about the primary fiasco conducted in Texas by the Creager machine in 1926, when the polls were located at secret places and only adherents and supporters of the Creager dynasty were permitted to cast a vote?

Why did Congressman Wurzbach, running for renomination in his district, receive more votes in 1926 than the Creager gubernatorial candidate received throughout the state?

Haven't both of the major political parties bartered federal offices, and isn't the practice accepted generally as being the orthodox political procedure and partisan vogue, and isn't it a part of our spoils system?

If we are to have honesty and integrity in the conduct of partisan affairs, Mr. President, suppose we start at the fountain-head; and why all this straining at a gnat and trying to swallow a camel?

The Informer has no fight to wage with President Hoover and Republican party leaders for their futile desire to build up a strong Republican party in Dixie commonwealths, but it strikes this paper that even the chief executive of the nation should have waited and gathered all the facts before rushing to print with his recent statement upon "patronage abuses" and "intolerable conditions" among certain party leaders in the South.

In the light of developments, exposures and revelations concerning the Republican leadership in the Lone Star State, as disclosed recently by the Brookhart probing committee, The Informer wishes to ask the following query: WHAT ABOUT TEXAS, PRESIDENT HOOVER?

Political - 1929

Party Affiliation.

HOOVER'S LILY WHITES

Now that President Hoover has had his little say and has stated in unequivocal terms that he was going to recognize the "lily-white" Republicans of the south we can philosophize as we wish. A few states of the erstwhile solid south voted the Republican ticket in the last presidential election because of the religious issue involved and by virtue of pre-election overtures. But because the south is still under the spell of the lost cause and because the south is swayed by sentiment, passions and prejudice we have neither doubts, hopes nor fears that it will remain Republican. It will turn Democratic again at the first available opportunity and the recognition of the scheming, selfish, insincere "lily-whites" will operate as a boomerang to the party politics.

Mr. Hoover is undoubtedly prompted in his actions by the desire to wipe out sectionalism, cement the cleavage between the north and the south, protect northern investments in Dixie, and tighten the party lines. We do not hold the idea that he is motivated in his drastic action by the inclination to strip the black man of his meagre political representation, nor do we believe that he is incensed by the time-honored system of patronage peddling. He is not seriously interested in the character and ability of the party leaders, he is not expecting to expunge corruption, nor is he seeking to embarrass the black voters. He is seeking to amply protect Republican domination and big business.

He has failed to take into consideration the mean intelligence of the south, its unswerving adherence to dogmas, religious and economic; its idolatry of traditions, its insanity, intolerance and hypocrisy. He has no more chance to awaken the electorate in Dixie and invoke clear thinking and righteous action than he has to check the ebb and flow of the oceanic tides. Does he realize what frenzy and ecstasy the south is thrown into when the band plays Dixie, does he know how dear to the southern heart is the memory of Jeff Davis and Robert E. Lee, does he know and understand the economic basis underlying disfranchisement and lynching? Has Mr. Hoover made an intelligent and painstaking attempt to analyze the psychology of the south? If he has we cannot comprehend just what he expects to accomplish for the enduring good of the party and nation by his policy of giving recognition to those Democratic opportunists who have cleverly draped themselves in the robes of "lily-white" Republicans.

The black man will undoubtedly profit by this new policy of the Republican party. He will be shunted away from the sentiments that cemented him to the Grand Old Party and in states where he can vote he will begin to split his ticket as he should. He will make marked prog-

Republican.

ress in northern states and his ballot will find a new respect. He will gradually be weaned away from the tender memories of Abraham Lincoln and the melodramatic claptrap that has operated to the effect of having his ballot counted before he voted. A time will come in the course of national affair when the south will again be revealed in its true colors and the Republican party will again draw the black to its breast. This country is not old enough and far enough removed from slavery for Mr. Hoover's plan to bear fruit. For a long time to come the south's national anthem will continue to be "Dixie". We should worry.

President Hoover Backs Lily-whites

Special to Journal and Guide

Washington, D. C., March 27—The full strength of the most powerful office in the world was thrown solidly behind the lily white movement in the Republican party when President Herbert Hoover issued a statement Tuesday approving the lily white organizations and disapproving the black and tan organizations in Southern states.

In his statement he commended particularly the Republican organizations in the border states and in Virginia and North Carolina. He also expressed his approval of the state organizations in Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas and Florida.

The Republican organization in each of these states is composed entirely of white persons. Colored persons are members of state, district, or county committees. They are usually barred from state, district and county conventions through various ruses of Republican leaders in those states.

It was in these states in the recent campaign in which the Republican party appealed to race prejudice. It was in these states that Col. Horace A. Mann had charge of the Republican campaign and eliminated colored citizens from participating in it while the Republican party in the North sought the vote of colored men and women for its candidates.

Condemn Black and Tan

President Hoover condemned the black and tan organizations in the states of South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi. They are guilty of patronage abuses, he asserted, which make it impossible for them to command the confidence of the administration.

In making his comparison of the lily white and black and tan organizations, President Hoover evidently had no knowledge of the existence of the so-called "Dear Ben" letters which C. Bascom Slep, the Republican national committeeman for Virginia, wrote while a member of Congress soliciting campaign contributions from Federal officeholders.

Evidently he had no knowledge of the allegations which have been made before the Brookhart Senate committee investigating Federal appointments

in Southern states, regarding R. B. Creager, the Republican national committeeman for Texas, who is charged with requiring Federal officeholders to give promissory notes as contributions to the Republican organization in his state.

The full text of the statement of President Hoover in reply to queries from the press upon organization questions in the South is as follows:

Hoover's Statement

"It has been the aspiration of Republican Presidents over many years to build up sound Republican organization in the Southern states of such character as would commend itself to the citizens of those states.

"This aspiration has arisen out of no narrow sense of partisanship but from the conviction shared in equally by the leaders of all parties that the basis of sound government must rest upon strong two-party representation and organization; that the voice of all states in the councils of the Government can be assured by no other means; that the welfare of the nation at large requires the breaking down of sectionalism in politics; that the public service can be assured only by responsible organization.

"Furthermore, it has been the belief of these leaders, whose views I share, that the building up of such organization must in every conception of our foundations of local self-government evolve from those states themselves.

"Republican leadership in the border states and in Virginia and North Caro-

lina has long since built up vigorous party organization which assures Republican representation in the Congress from those states.

"In other states including Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas and Florida, the Republican leadership has in recent times shown increasing strength and is now rendering able and conscientious service in maintaining wholesome organization under whose advice the appointments to public office have steadily improved and commended themselves to the citizens of those states with increased confidence in the party.

Approves Texas And Alabama

"I highly approve and welcome the movement of the leaders of Texas, Alabama, Florida and other states to broaden the basis of party organization by the establishment of advisory committees of the highest type of citizenship to deal with administrative questions and who will also cooperate with independent Democrats.

"This movement, spring as it does from within the the states themselves, insures its strength, permanence and constant improvement in public service.

Refers To Patronage

"Recent exposures of abuse in recommendation for Federal office, particularly in some parts of the states of South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi, under which come Federal departments, mainly the Post Office, made in appointments obviously render it impossible for the old organizations in those states to command the confidence of the administration, although many members of these organizations are not subject to criticism.

"But such conditions are intolerable to public service, are repugnant to the ideals and purposes of the Republican party, are unjust to the people of the South and must be ended. The duty of reorganization so as to correct these conditions rests with the people of those states, and all efforts to that end will receive the hearty co-operation of the administration.

"If these three states are unable to initiate such organization through the leadership of men who will command confidence and protect the public service, the different Federal departments will be compelled to adopt other methods to secure advice as to the selection of Federal employees."

PRESS AND EDITORS DISCUSS HOOVER POLICY IN THE SOUTH

An analysis of editorial comment and personal opinions of editors relative to the "Hoover policy of developing the Republican Party in the South," tends to show that in the main, the president's policy stated recently meets with the approval of the press of both races.

In response to a request for an opinion, by the Associated Negro Press, Robert L. Vann, editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, declared: "Every intelligent person knows the dual party system is desirable everywhere. The present system employed in the South has brought nothing to the Republican party. It has

not only brought nothing to the Negro voters, but it has brought down upon the whole group many types of hatred, condemnation and not a little disgrace.

"I am not interested in the ambitions of the few, who hide behind the vulgar 'lily whiteism,' I am interested in a sound republicanism, honestly organized, which will be helpful to the masses North and South. President Hoover has the courage to lead the way. I predict that the masses will have the common sense to follow."

Abbott Refuses to Express Opinion

Robert S. Abbott, editor of the Chicago Defender, declined to express an opinion, characterizing the report as newspaper propaganda. The Chicago editor declared to a representative of the Associated Negro Press that he would not make a statement as to his opinion due to the fact that he had not heard Mr. Hoover make the statement. In order to express an opinion the editor said he must know that the statement accredited to President Hoover in the press of the nation, is "ultra-authentic."

"I do not want to go off half-cocked," said Mr. Abbott. "The statement concerning Mr. Hoover's policy with reference to the South was sent out by a newspaper correspondent. For me to express an opinion the policy would have to be expressed to me, by Mr. Hoover and the president is accessible to me."

White Press Agrees

While the white press agreed with the dual party system, the Chicago Tribune, which expressed the conviction that President Hoover would adopt such a policy in October, 1928, deplored the veiled statement that the Negro would be "let out."

After pointing out the conditions under which Negroes live and exist in the South, the Tribune states:

"If Mr. Hoover succeeds in attracting the southern squires to the Republican Party, he must first drive the Negroes from it. That will leave both parties to the Kluxers and the dregs, and the Republican Party will be even more anti-Negro than the Democratic. It will be an unmerciful surrender of loyal men into total subjection. The Negro has been faithful to the Republican Party because it gave him the only protection he ever knew; now he is to be betrayed by his friends."

"The upbuilding of a strong two-party system in the South should not come until the South enfranchises the Negro or takes the constitutional penalty of reduction of representation in Congress for failure to do so. Furthermore there must be evidence that

the Negro is to be given justice in the courts. The Republican Party must not compromise with nullificationists. It cannot repudiate its origin."

Another Chicago daily, the Daily News, agrees with the dual system policy and sees in it "no reflection on the Southern Negro in the announced policy. The better element among both white and colored citizens have good reason to desire the development of two responsible, normally strong parties in the southern states. They should welcome the president's announcement of his intention to help build up a second efficient party in the South."

According to the opinion expressed by the New York City Herald Tribune, "Everyone, North and South will applaud the straightforwardness of Mr. Hoover's policy. It is good politics because it is sound Americanism. It looks forward to no swift purchase of Southern support by the promise of offices, but rather to the gradual development in these states of a genuine alternative to democracy. The creation of such an organization cannot fail to benefit the whole South. In the long run it can scarcely fail to strengthen the realities of American political life."

In discussing the announced policy of "cleaning house in the South," the New York World agrees that "the house should be cleaned," but suggests that as far as patronage is concerned it should be a nation-wide house cleaning. "Mr. Hoover," says the World, "speaks of abuses in recommendations of Federal office, but he must know that high federal officials have encouraged these improper recommendations, have willingly acted on them and have regarded them as part of a political transaction by which federal offices are ladled out in return for southern campaign contributions and delegates."

"The whole southern patronage system has been essentially a traffic conducted chiefly for the benefit of Republican leaders in Washington and to attack the little southern traders alone is to miss the mainspring of the discreditable business."

Carl J. Murphy, editor of the Baltimore Afro-American, describes the announcement as "a kick in the pants for the men whose votes he counted in order to win the nomination at Kansas City. The fact that he makes public any statements at all is evidence that he has failed in his effort to make Dixie Lily White and is now casting for public support."

Full Text of Hoover's Famous 'Lily-White' Edict

Washington, D. C., April 5.—The full strength of the most powerful of five in the world was thrown solidly behind the lily-white movement in the Republican party when President Hoover issued a statement Tuesday approving the lily-white organizations and disapproving the mixed organizations in southern states.

In his statement he commended particularly the Republican organizations in the border states and in Virginia, North Carolina. He also expressed his approval of the state organizations in Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas and Florida.

The Republican organizations in each of these states is composed entirely of white persons. It was in these states in the recent campaign in which the Republican party appealed to race prejudice. It was in these states that Col. Horace A. Mann had charge of the Republican campaign and eliminated Negro citizens from participating in it, while the Republican party in the North sought our votes for its candidates.

President Hoover condemned the mixed organizations in the states of South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi. They are guilty of patronage abuses, he asserted, which makes it impossible for them to command the confidence of the administration.

In making his comparison of the lily-white and mixed organizations, President Hoover evidently had no knowledge of the existence of the so-called "Dear Ben" letters which C. Bascom Sloop, the Republican national committeeman for Virginia, wrote while a member of congress soliciting campaign contributions from federal officeholders.

The Speech

The full text of the statement of President Hoover in reply to queries from the press upon organization questions in the South is as follows:

"It has been the aspiration of Republican presidents over many years to build up sound Republican organizations in the southern states of such character as would commend itself to the citizens of those states."

"This aspiration has arisen out of no narrow sense of partisanship but from the conviction shared in equally by the leaders of all parties that the basis of sound government must rest upon strong two-party

representation and organization; that the voice of all states in the councils of the government can be assured by no other means; that the welfare of the nation at large requires the breaking down of sectionalism in politics; that the public service can be assured only by responsible organization."

"Furthermore, it has been the belief of these leaders, whose views I share, that the building up of such organizations must in every conception of our foundations of local self-government evolve from those states themselves."

"Republican leadership in the border states and in Virginia and North Carolina has long since built up vigorous party organization which assures Republican representation in the congress from those states."

"In other states, including Arkansas, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas and Florida, the Republican leadership has in recent times shown increasing strength and is now rendering able and conscientious service in maintaining wholesome organization under whose advice the appointments to public office have steadily improved and commended themselves to the citizens of those states with increased confidence in the party."

Approves Lily-White

"I highly approve and welcome the movement of the leaders of Texas, Alabama, Florida and other states to broaden the basis of party organization by the establishment of advisory committees of the highest type of citizenship to deal with administrative questions and who will also co-operate with independent Democrats."

"This movement, springing as it does within the states themselves, insures its strength, permanence and constant improvement in public service."

"Recent exposures of abuse in recommendations for federal office, particularly in some parts of the states of South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi, under which come federal departments, mainly the postoffice, were misled in appointments obviously rendering it impossible for the old organizations in those states to command the confidence of the administration, although many members of these or-

ganizations are not subject to criticism.

"But such conditions are intolerable to public service, are repugnant to the ideals and purposes of the Republican party, are unjust to the people of the South and must be ended. The duty of reorganization so as to correct these conditions rests with the people of those states, and all efforts to that end will receive the hearty co-operation of the administration."

"If these three states are unable to initiate such organization through the leadership of men who will command confidence and protect the public service, the different federal departments will be compelled to adopt other methods to secure advice as to the selection of federal employees."

Political - 1929

Republican.

Party Affiliation PATRONAGE CLEAN-UP DECREED IN THE SOUTH

Three States Feel Weight of Hoover's Club.

PERRY HOWARD GOES OUT

"Intolerable Conditions" in Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi. President Says. Post Office Joins Cleanup. Offers Pile to "Hoover-crats."

By United Press.
WASHINGTON, March 26.—President Hoover made his bid for continued support in the south today by announcing a "clean-up" of the Republican patronage situation there and by holding out to Democrats, whose defection was responsible for his election, the promise of a part in party organization and benefits.

His sweeping announcement of policy, made in answer to inquiries by newspaper correspondents, is the conclusion of a series of conferences here recently touching upon the future of the Republican party in the south. In his statement, the president made it plain he intends to take every possible step to perpetuate a strong following in the south.

The policy he outlined provides: First—A cleanup in Republican organizations in three states, Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi, where investigation, the president said, has shown patronage abuses and "intolerable conditions." This means ousting of present Republican leaders.

Plums to Independent Democrats.

Second—Establishment, in states where the president regards the Republican organization as strong and "wholesome," in which he listed Texas, Alabama and Florida, of "advisory committees of the highest type of citizenship," which will advise on patronage matters.

Third—Inclusion of "independent Democrats" on these advisory committees.

The president's announcement at the White House was followed in a

few hours by a specific announcement regarding postmaster appointments by Postmaster General Brown, which revealed that present Republican leaders in the three states, Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi, have been deprived of any voice in patronage.

"Until the Republicans of South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi place the control of their party organizations in the hands of men and women who enjoy the respect and confidence of their fellow citizens and who are genuinely desirous of promoting honesty and efficiency in public service, the Post Office Department will, on its own initiative, seek the advice of citizens of the state named who can be relied upon to advise the department in the public interest," Brown said.

President Hoover, in his statement, had declared that unless the three states took steps to place respected men at the head of the party organization, federal departments would have to secure advice elsewhere on appointments. This was regarded as meaning the ousting of the leaders there, but the quick action from the Post Office Department was unexpected.

Brown also declared that as a general policy, postmaster selections throughout the country would be based on the applicant's "business experience and executive ability rather than political considerations."

The president's announcement was well received by those party elements who have demanded a "cleanup" in the south. The hope of the last Republican campaign was expressed by some who have been interested in building up the party in the south that the president's policy would be carried to appointment to important offices there of outstanding Democrats who aided the Hoover cause in the south.

"It is a good start," was the identical comment of two Republican senators who have been most closely identified with the southern situation than any others, Senator Borah of Idaho, who campaigned widely in the south for Mr. Hoover, and Senator Brookhart of Iowa, chairman of the investigating committee which revealed the abuses of which the president spoke today.

Neither would comment any further.

Brookhart Disappointed.

Brookhart, it is known, was disappointed that the president did not single out Republican National Committee member R. B. Creager of Texas for criticism. Brookhart repeatedly has denounced Creager's methods since the appearance of the Texas Republican boss before the committee. Texas was included by the president among the states given a general clean bill of health. The organizations, the recreation of which was decreed by the president,

are headed in South Carolina by Joseph T. Kolbert, for many years national committeeman, and in Mississippi by Perry Howard, a responsible organization. "Furthermore, it has been the belief of these leaders, whose views share, that the building up of such organization must in every conception of our foundation of local self-government evolve from those states themselves.

Ben Davis, a negro, formerly headed the organization in Georgia, but his service as national committeeman was abruptly terminated at the Kansas City convention last June and the Republican national committee has deferred naming his successor, awaiting the present action of Mr. Hoover.

Leaders of the organizations recommended by the chief executive are R. B. Creager, national committeeman for Texas; Oliver D. Shipley, national committeeman for Alabama; Wallace Townsend, national committeeman for Arkansas; Emile Kuntz, national committeeman for Louisiana, and Glenn B. Skipper, national committeeman for Florida.

The president said that Republican leadership in the border states and in Virginia and North Carolina "has long since built up vigorous party organizations, which assures Republican representation in the Congress from those states." These states as well as Texas and Florida cast their electoral votes for Mr. Hoover in the last election.

Horace Mann Tossed Out.

The views of the chief executive believed to have led to the retirement from the Republican organization of Horace A. Mann, a Washington, D. C., attorney, formerly of Tennessee, who had personal direction of the last Republican campaign in all of the southern states except Virginia and Texas.

Mann recently submitted to the Republican national committee and to the president a detailed plan for the appointment of committees which would handle patronage matters for each of the southern states. The committee failed to act upon it and some days after he had presented it to the president, Mann announced that he had turned over all of his records to the national committee, which was taken here by many to indicate he was through with his position in the southern political field.

The president's statement follows:

"It has been the aspiration of Republican presidents over many years to build up sound republican organizations in the southern states of such character as would commend itself to the citizens of those states.

"This aspiration has arisen out of no narrow sense of partisanship, but from the conviction shared in Texas for criticism. Brookhart repeatedly has denounced Creager's methods since the appearance of the Texas Republican boss before the committee. Texas was included by the president among the states given a general clean bill of health. The organizations, the recreation of which was decreed by the president,

large requires the breaking down of sectionalism in politics; that the public service can be assured only by responsible organization.

"Furthermore, it has been the belief of these leaders, whose views share, that the building up of such organization must in every conception of our foundation of local self-government evolve from those states themselves.

"Republican leadership in the border states and in Virginia and North Carolina has long since built up vigorous party organizations which assures Republican representation in the Congress from those states.

"In other states, including Alabama, Arkansas, (Louisiana, Texas and Florida, the Republican leadership has in recent times shown increasing strength and is now rendering able and conscientious service in maintaining wholesome organization under whose advice the appointments to public office have steadily improved and commended themselves to the citizens of those states with increased confidence in the party.

"I heartily approve and welcome the movement of the leaders of Texas, Alabama, Florida and other states to broaden the basis of party organization by the establishing of advisory question and who will co-operate with independent Democrats. This movement, springing as it does from within the states themselves, insures it strength, permanence and constant improvement in public service.

"Recent exposures of abuse in recommendations for federal office particularly in some parts of the states of South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi, under which some of the federal departments, mainly the postoffice, were misled in appointments, obviously render it impossible for the old organizations in those states to command the confidence of the administration, although many members of these organizations are not subject to criticism.

"But such conditions are intolerable to public service, are repugnant to the ideals and purposes of the Republican party, are unjust to the people of the south and must be ended. The duty of reorganization so as to correct these conditions rests with the people of those states, and all efforts to that end will receive the hearty co-operation of the administration. If these three states are unable to initiate such organization through the leadership of men who will command confidence and protect the public service, the difference federal departments will be compelled to adopt other methods to secure advice as to the selection of federal employees."

It will be accepted, I believe, as the product of his conviction that the welfare of the nation at large requires the breaking down of sectionalism in politics. He has given evidence of a national vision and of his purpose to serve the nation as a whole. "We in Mississippi are more particularly interested in that part

of the statement relative to the states of South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi. The president recognizes the conditions which we in Mississippi have long since recognized; that is, that the Republican party has hitherto maintained a mere skeleton organization primarily for the purpose of controlling and dispensing federal patronage in the state.

"He has correctly evaluated the result in our state as being a condition which is intolerable and repugnant to the ideals and purposes of free government, unjust to the people of Mississippi. He has said in unequivocal language that such conditions must be ended.

"Every good citizen should consider the distribution of patronage, either state or federal, as a means to an end only, that is improvement of public service, and the promotion of good government. No individual or party can be true to the ideals of good government unless they be prompted solely by a desire to improve the public service without regard to persons, reward or selfish gain.

"There has never been any doubt in the minds of those who knew the president as to his sincerity of purpose and high ideals. He has familiarized himself with conditions as they exist in the south, and his announced policy toward our section of the nation will strengthen the confidence of the people in his leadership. I am happy that the president has made public his ideas and ideals for the south.

"So far as my associates and I shall participate in political affairs in Mississippi in the future, the president's plans and policies will be strictly put into effect. We hope for and shall expect clean, efficient, honest and representative public employees and public service. The responsibility for good government and for efficient public service in Mississippi is upon the people within our state.

"The president has expressed his desire to improve our conditions, but we as citizens must do our part in putting into effect the required remedial action."

MR. HOOVER TO THE SOUTH.

No such bold and explicit repudiation of the old-style Republican organization in the Southern States has ever come from the lips of a Republican President as the one uttered by Mr. HOOVER yesterday. We have it straight and authentic. His own language is cited. There are no roundabout ambiguities of second-hand information or first-hand thinly clouded, but the President speaks direct. Confining himself for the moment to the organized Republican party in three Southern States, he roundly declares that it is there

mere basis for bucksterning in Federal offices. It has no respect from the decent people of those States. It misleads the Federal authorities and cheats applicants for office. It is a vulgar and mercenary little oligarchy with which President Hoover will have nothing to do.

By contrast he paints in brighter colors the much improved Republican organization in the border States and in Virginia and North Carolina. Here he finds a model for the others. The best citizens of the South must be drawn to the Republican party. Its leaders and managers and office-holders must be of a kind to commend themselves to the "highest type of citizenship." The idea that Federal offices can be made the subject of barter and sale must be abandoned. Unless the corrupt Republican leaders in the South change their methods, the Hoover administration will not consult them in the allotment of patronage in their States, but will turn to other sources of information about candidates. In short, the President's outspoken statement is very like reading the riot act to the kind of Republican leadership which has cursed the party in the South for many years.

Obviously President HOOVER has high hopes of breaking down sectional lines and building up a strong and respectable Republican party in the South. This aspiration of his was visible in the campaign speech which he made in Tennessee. It is now more sharply revealed and made official. He clearly fore-shadows a Republican party in the South almost as purely a white man's party as is the Democratic party there. This is pretty sure to offend and excite negro committeemen in the South and negro leaders everywhere. They will protest that Mr. HOOVER has become a "lily white," and is prepared to acquiesce in the suppression of the colored vote. If the resulting disappointment and soreness continue up to the eve of the next Republican National Convention, and if it is then a question of excluding colored delegates, a heavy political price may yet be paid by Mr. HOOVER, if he is a candidate for renomination, or by any Republican aspirant who fully accepts his plan for a Republican revival in the South.

REBUFF FOR LILYWHITISM.

While a realignment of the political forces in the Southern states is still one of the probabilities, there have been several incidents which go to show that the movement to make the Republican party a lilywhite party, by the elimination of the Negro as a voter and leader, has not wholly succeeded. First, the National Republican Committee decided against the proposition to set up a system of white referees to parcel out the Federal patronage. It also decided to restore the representation of the Southern states in the National Convention to its former figures, on account of the increased popular vote for the national ticket. This will again make the South an important factor in the making of Presidential nominations.

Another significant incident reported in the news dispatches was the resignation of Col. Horace A. Mann, described as Southern manager for the Republican National organization during the campaign of 1928. His resignation is attributed directly to the action taken by the National committee in deciding against the referee system. Col. Mann was credited with aiding and cultivating the anti-Smith movement during the campaign, so that it finally resulted in the addition of four southern states to the Republican column. Upon the strength of this result it was confidently expected that the Col. would be made a sort of czar in dispensing Federal appointments in the South. But the National Committee was standing aloof, he felt called upon to resign.

The retirement of Col. Mann may be scored as a rebuff for the lilywhite movement in the South, but it does not mean that it has been killed or abandoned. The white Republicans who have set out to control the patronage are just as grimly set in their policy of eliminating the Negro from sharing the management of the party as was Col. Mann or any other lilywhite. Benjamin J. Davis has abandoned his efforts to be elected again as National Committeeman in Georgia, Perry

Howard has been marked for retirement in Mississippi, while the opponents of Walter Cohen have seized control in Louisiana. Robert R. Church remains an outstanding political figure in Tennessee because he has Negro votes behind him, which can help to elect Republican or Democratic candidates.

The question of lilywhitism in the re-organization of the Republican party in the South is dependent upon the ability to control votes and to have them cast and counted at elections. The power to ensure this reposes in the hands of the Republican party, through its control of Congress. But since the days of James G. Blaine, when Republicans meekly surrendered to the cry of "No Force Bill!" "No Negro domination!" the party has lacked the backbone to demand fair elections in the South. With the precedents set by the Vane and Smith cases in the Senate, the Congress has shown that it has the power to debar from entrance candidates whose titles to office are based on fraud or other defects. Most of the candidates for Congress from the South owe their election to the suppression of the suffrage and few of their election certificates would stand a searching investigation.

It is not sufficient for the National Committee and the President to rebuff the Lilywhites by turning down Col. Mann, only to recognize another set of lilywhites who have captured control of the Republican organizations. The rotten borough system still exists and will continue to prove a drawback to the progress of that section until some way is devised of ensuring honest elections, where every citizen can vote and have his vote counted. This may result in the choice of white leaders for the Republican organization, but if so they will be chosen by a majority of the voters

HOOVER AND SOUTHERN PATRONAGE AGE

President Hoover is frankly sick of Republican patronage scandals in the Southern States. Sometimes the reporters at Washington are permitted to quote him direct—his relations with the press are much more satisfactory than it was expected they would be—and yesterday was one of the times, as will be seen by the following Associated Press dispatch:

WASHINGTON, March 24 (P)—President Hoover today decreed an end to the existing Republican party organizations in South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi because of the recent exposures in connection with recommendations for the distribution of federal patronage.

"Such abuses are intolerable to public service," he said, "are repugnant to the ideals and purposes of the Republican party, are unjust to the people of the South and must be ended."

This is startling and decisive, particularly when read in connection with the report that Mr. Hoover has under consideration an entirely new plan for the distribution of patronage in the South, at least in Alabama. Correspondents of Alabama newspapers say the President may have a bi-partisan committee, representing the State and the several counties, to advise him about appointments in Alabama. There would be both Republicans and Hoovercrats on this committee, which would be presided over by the Republican National Committeeman from Alabama, who is Judge Oliver D. Street. This would give the President, and the public, the benefit of the criticism of prospective appointees by a group of representative Republicans and Hoovercrats. Under the old referee system one man picked the appointees. In a number of the States of the South appointments were sold outright and there have been many humiliating scandals in connection with these outrages against the public service.

Mr. Hoover has definitely aligned himself with the lily white wing of the Republican party of the South. He proposes to build up the party on that basis, apparently.

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Party Affiliation.

VIEW OF EDITORS THROUGHOUT NATION FAVORS HOOVER'S G. O. P. PARTY IN SOUTH

White and Negro Newspapermen Are of Opinion Two Party System in South Not Bad

CHICAGO.—(A. N. P.)—An analysis of editorial comment and personal opinions of editors relatives to the "Hoover policy of developing the republican party in the South," tends to show that in the main, the President's policy as stated recently meets with the approval of the press of both races.

In response to a request for an opinion, by the Associated Negro Press, Robert L. Vann, editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, declared:

"Every intelligent person knows the dual party system is desirable everywhere. The present system employed in the south has brought nothing to the republican party. It has not only brought nothing to the Negro voters, but it has brought down upon the whole group many types of hatred, condemnation and not a little disgrace."

"I am not interested in the ambitions of the few, who hide behind the vulgar 'Lily Whiteism,' I am interested in a sound republicanism, honestly organized, which will be helpful to the masses north and south. President Hoover has the courage to lead the way. I predict that the masses will have common sense to follow."

Abbott Refuses to Express Opinion
Robert S. Abbott, editor of the Chicago Defender, declined to express an opinion, characterizing the report as newspaper propaganda. The Chicago editor declared to a representative of the Associated Negro Press that he would not make a statement as to his opinion due to the fact that he had not heard Mr. Hoover make the statement. In order to express an opinion the editor saw he must know that the statement accredited to President Hoover in the press of the nation, is "ultra authentic."

"I do not want to go off half-cocked," said Mr. Abbott. "The statement concerning Mr. Hoover's policy with reference to the South sent out by a newspaper correspondent. For me to express an opinion

une, "everyone, North and South will applaud the straight-forwardness of Mr. Hoover's policy. It is good politics because it is sound Americanism. It looks forward to no swift purchase of Southern support by the promise of offices, but rather to the gradual development in these states of a genuine alternative to democracy. The creation of such an organization can not fail to benefit the whole south. In the long run it can scarcely fail to strengthen realities of American political life."

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"The whole southern patronage system has been essentially a traffic conducted chiefly for the benefit of republican leaders in Washington and to attack the little southern traders alone is to miss the main-spring of the discreditable business."

Carl J. Murphy, editor of the Baltimore Afro-American, describes the announcement as "a kick in the pants for the men whose votes he counted in order to win the nomination at Kansas City. The fact that he makes public any statements at all is evidence that he has failed in his effort to make Dixie Lily Whites and is now casting for public support."

EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THREE HEADS OFFICE SELECTION

H. G. Hastings, Lindsey Hopkins and R. J. Guinn, All of Atlanta, Will Lead Committee.

G. O. P. APPOINTEES
TO ORGANIZE SOON

Republican

Influence of Col. Horace A. Mann Is Seen Behind Naming of Patronage Chiefs for Georgia.

BY GLADSTONE WILLIAMS.

(Copyright, 1929, by The Constitution.)

Washington, March 28.—The Constitution Washington bureau today is able to give the personnel of the special patronage committee for Georgia which the new Hoover administration has appointed to function in filling all federal offices in the state.

The committee is composed of nine members, one from each congressional district in the state, a special executive committee of three which will serve as a sort of superstructure to the main patronage body.

All three members of the executive committee are from Atlanta. They are H. G. Hastings, Georgia republican manager of the Hoover campaign in the last election; Lindsey Hopkins, prominently identified with the Coca-Cola interest, and R. J. Guinn, engaged actively in banking enterprise.

The six members of the committee representing the 12 congressional districts of the state are Charles Adamson, of Cedartown; J. H. Fetty, of Savannah; T. N. Hendricks, of Edison; H. C. Lovvorn, of Carrollton; Mrs. Henry C. Davis, of Macon, and Mrs. Mary Harris Armour, of Tate.

Guinn Is Appointed.
Mr. Guinn was the only member of the committee selected as a straight-out Hooverer or a democrat who voted the republican ticket in the last national election. Mr. Hopkins has a record of consistently voting the democratic state ticket, but is understood to have cast his lot with the republican presidential nominees during the last three national elections, beginning with Harding in 1920. He is being appointed as a republican, however. The third member of the group is Mrs. Armour, well known prohibitionist and W. C. T. U. worker, who is regarded practically as an independent in politics.

Perhaps the major surprise in the list was the failure of the administration to name G. F. Flanders, of Swainsboro, republican national committeeman-elect, one of the representatives from the congressional districts. Although he was not confirmed in his office at the recent meeting of the national committee, it had been thought that his name would be included in the patronage body. In the campaign, however, he was omitted, but he is being summoned to Washington, there is no intention to ignore him in the state organization structure, which, for the most part, will be true with old leaders identified with the regime of former National Committeeman Ben Davis, Atlanta negro who has been patronage dispenser for the past four years.

The committee, similar to one already set up in Florida, and planned

for practically all of the southern states, will serve not only as arbiter in Georgia patronage matters, but will function in establishing the much-discussed reorganization program which President Hoover and Colonel Horace A. Mann, pre-election southern campaign manager, have in mind for the south.

President Hoover himself has studied the personnel of the Georgia committee and has approved it. As the manager of the republican campaign in the state and thus the only member of the body with some recognized official status, Mr. Hastings will be notified shortly and asked to perfect organization preparatory to the forthcoming special session of congress, which is expected to see a number of postoffice and other nominations sent the senate for confirmation. All member of the committee are understood to have been approached on the subject of their appointment already and are believed to have signified their willingness to serve.

Semi-official announcement of the committee here follows the bold pronouncement issued by President Hoover on Tuesday in which he gave his whole-hearted approval of plans for reorganizing southern republican affairs on a more respectable basis and at the same time served notice on republican organization leaders of the three states of Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi that they would be given no recognition by the present administration until their houses were set in proper order.

Barred by Postmaster.
The president's manifesto was followed in turn by a formal statement from Postmaster General Brown that old organization leaders in the three states would be given no voice in federal appointments, so far as his department was concerned. The effect of the two statements was to pronounce political excommunication on the heads of Perry Howard, negro national committeeman from Mississippi, National Committeeman Joseph Tolbert, of South Carolina, and former National Committeeman Davis, of Georgia, together with their active associates, against whom patronage scandals have been unearthed by the special Brookhart investigation committee.

While no official word has come from Colonel Mann, back of the appointment of the Georgia committee as well as others for the southern states is seen in the five working of his hand. President Hoover is believed to have depended on him almost entirely for selection of the patronage arbiters. In turn the colonel, who now holds undisputed sway as the director of policies for the south in the Hoover administration, before making the list consulted with leaders identified with his activities during the campaign. Last Sunday, for example, he summoned to Washington M. O. Dunning, of Savannah, collector of customs, for a conference on the general situation, and the latter is understood to have recommended several of the Georgia committee appointments.

H. G. Hastings, Lindsey Hopkins and R. J. Guinn, named in Washington dispatches as forming the executive committee to handle distribution

of federal offices in Georgia, stated here Thursday night that they had not received official notification of any such appointment and declined to make any other comment.

LONG RULE OF THE NEGRO REPUBLICANS IN THE SOUTH IS DEALT A DEATH BLOW THRU THE ACTION OF PRESIDENT HOOVER

Chief Executive Seen as Catering to Whims of Lily White. See In- stances of Bias

Special to the St. Louis Argus.
WASHINGTON, D. C., Mar. 29.
—With President Hoover touching off the blast in lily whites' guns which have long been trained on Negro leaders of the Republican party in the South, the last straw was reached in a masterful political game in which it was hoped to dispose of Negro leadership without the motivating force being seen. Negro Political leaders have surmised.

President Hoover, after a long delay, finally came out into the open Tuesday and gave his sanction to the lily white leadership in the South. The Negro leaders who stuck by him in his campaign for the Presidency, is the conception of these thinking Americans.

The Race leaders believe that Perry W. Howard was "framed" in an effort to get rid of him and that for him to quit under fire would strengthen the "Lily White" Republicans and encourage their warfare on prominent Race Republicans in other states. While no one is said to have represented that they possessed sufficient influence to absolutely guarantee the stopping of prosecution, those who participated in the negotiations say that the suggestion was that prominent Republicans, such as Dr. Hubert Work, national committee chairman, and Colonel Mann, would use their influence in his behalf.

Bob Church Backs Howard

Those who know the operations of the Department of Justice and its absolute control over the federal district attorneys understood that it was only necessary for Washington to pass the tip on to the proper officials in Mississippi to stop the present prosecution. Howard's present attitude is to fight the case through. It was said here by persons who have kept in touch with him.

The case has cost the committee a great deal of money. His first trial cost him \$11,000 for counsel fees and other expenses. Recenters are watching closely the maneuverings of the Republican

Avenue, in which Howard owns an interest was sold under a foreclosure proceedings to satisfy a mortgage placed on it. The white Republican leaders felt that in view of Howard's financial condition he would be willing to come to terms on a basis of having the Department of Justice stop the proceedings against him. Bob Church is understood to have been one of those who counseled Howard to stand out for a trial of the case on its merits.

Banished From Meetings

Another incident in the "Lily White" campaign of Republican powers-that-be was the suggestion made to Negro committeewomen from Southern states that they stay away from the recent dinner given to the members of the Republican national committee at a prominent Washington hotel. Mrs. Mary C. Booze of Mississippi and Mrs. George S. Williams, com-women for Georgia, were here for the national committee meeting a few weeks ago. They were informed by Dr. Work, the chairman, that a situation had arisen that was embarrassing to the Republican leaders, in that the white help at the hotel where the luncheon was given had objected to waiting on Negroes. It was represented that the affair might end in a walkout of the waiters and other unpleasant complications. The women agreed to absent themselves and the affair was "Lily White."

Since that time Washington Race citizens of prominence have looked into the matter and have discovered that the fears entertained by the committee chairman were unfounded and they are now charging that he was guilty of a subterfuge which was used rather than face the social equality issue on a clean-cut basis.

As a result of this practical banishment of the Negroes from the national social festivities of the national committee gathering, Charles C. Hamblen, Republican national committeeman for Colorado, offered a resolution that in future committee meetings be held where all members of the committee could attend. Other members of the Republican committee are represented as not liking the proscription feature of the

leaders to see if the Hoover administration is really backing the movement to exclude them from the party council.

DO THESE DESERVE FAVOR?

By virtue of what right, what service and what influence are the gentlemen who are now seeking the favor of Mr. Herbert Hoover, president of this nation, entitled to his recognition? When a theory can be claimed that these gentlemen influenced the vote of the American black people? What power or prestige with the voting black people of this country did Dr. Hawkins, Dr. Emmett Scott, Mr. Holsey or Dr. Moton hold? These are questions propounded without prejudice and in the hope that a square deal will be given those public-spirited leaders among black people who actually contributed something tangible to the success of the Republican party.

Dr. Moton is principal of Tuskegee institute, having inherited the mantle of the late lamented Booker T. Washington. Dr. Moton was confronted with a Herculean task, that of taking up where Washington left off. He has not met the requirements and has basked in limelight reflecting the glory of the departed Booker T. Dr. Moton as principal of an industrial school in Alabama and an exhorter to large audiences, has done nothing to rise out of that role in such a fashion that he might be deemed a leader of his people. Moton carries no influence with the great mass of black voters. In the last twenty years Tuskegee has taken its rightful place in the order of affairs, a school for industrial training, that and nothing more. Mr. Holsey is Dr. Moton's secretary, a splendid man, with a penchant for writing articles on the "race question" and with a distinctive quality, but Mr. Holsey lives in Dr. Moton's world. His horizon is Tuskegee and rightfully so. He is prepared to revere and worship Moton but beyond that we fail to see just why he should shape up as a dominant figure in the affairs of the nation.

Dr. Emmet Scott, also a product of the Tuskegee system, and now secretary of Howard university, by sheer force of his pertinacity, has attempted to horn into every political picture. We sincerely doubt whether he could control a corporal's guard where the question of the ballot is concerned. Dr. Scott is a fine gentlemen, who formerly served as secretary to Dr. Washington, but we fail to see just why he should feel that he is an important factor in shaping political opinion. He is neither a prolific speaker nor a profound writer but we will credit him with extraor-

political glory and emoluments is entirely beyond our If people had the right to make their own selection of those favored few to receive the traditional assignments of political thought among our people.

Dr. John Hawkins—we have taken the gentlemen in in the "kitchen cabinet" we are afraid that neither reverse order—has meandered forth from the cloisters of these doctors with honorary degrees nor Mr. Holsey would his religious and financial work. This gentleman is financial as being the logical choice.

The black people are quite agreed that political leadership among them requires self-abnegation, diplomatic sagacity, force, brains and magnetism. Our ambitious friends just considered by no means measure up.

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LONG RULE OF THE N. Y. REPUBLICANS IN THE SOUTH IS DEALT A DEATH BLOW

THRU THE ACTION OF PRESIDENT. HOOVER

Chief Executive Seen as Catering to Whims of Lily White. See Instances of Bias

Special to the St. Louis Argus.
WASHINGTON, D. C., Mar. 29.
—With President Hoover touching off the blast in lily whites' guns which have long been trained on Negro leaders, the last straw was reached in a masterful political game in which a Negro leadership without the motivating force being seen in Negro political leaders have surmised.

President Hoover, after a long delay, finally came out into the open Tuesday and gave his sanction to the lily white leadership in the South the day after the Negro leaders who stuck by him in his campaign for the Presidency, is the conception of these thinking Americans. The Race leaders believe that arisen that was embarrassing to the Perry W. Howard was "framed" in Republican leaders, in that the white an effort to get rid of him and that help at the hotel where the luncheon for him to quit under fire would cheer was given had objected to strengthen the "Lily White" Republican and encourage their warfare against the prominent Race Republicans in a walkout of the waiters and other on other states. While no one is said unpleasant complications. The Race to have represented that they pos- women agreed to absent themselves sesses sufficient influence to abso- and the affair was "Lily White."

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By virtue of what right, what service and what influence are the gentlemen who are now seeking the favor of Mr. Herbert Hoover, president of this nation, entitled to his recognition and the vote of the American people? What power or prestige with the voting black people? That these gentlemen influenced the vote of the American people of this country did Dr. Hawkins, Dr. Emmett Scott, Mr. Holsey or Dr. Moton hold? These are questions propounded without prejudice and in the hope that a square deal will be given those public-spirited leaders among black people who actually contributed something tangible to the success of the Republican party.

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Dr. Emmett Scott, also a product of the Tuskegee system, and now secretary of Howard university, by sheer force of his pertinacity, has attempted to horn into every political picture. We sincerely doubt whether he could control a corporal's guard where the question of the ballot is concerned. Dr. Scott is a fine gentleman, who formerly served as secretary to Dr. Washington, but we fail to see just why he should feel that he is an important factor in shaping political opinion. He is neither a prolific speaker nor a profound writer but we will credit him with extraordinary chicanery. Just why these eminent educators desire political glory and emoluments is entirely beyond our comprehension.

Dr. John Hawkins—we have taken the gentlemen in reverse order—has meandered forth from the cloisters of his religious and financial work. This gentleman is financial secretary of the A. M. E. church and a bank official in Washington, he was formerly a school teacher. Dr. Hawkins seconded the nomination of Mr. Hoover for President but there were thousands of ambitious black men who were willing to do that service. The honor was not thrust upon Dr. Hawkins and we have reasons to believe that he sought it. This gentleman was delegated to head up the campaign among black people but as head of the same we are extremely desirous of knowing what he did outside of drawing up a budget that was mercilessly slashed and abused by Dr. Work, chairman of the national Republican committee. Dr. Hawkins, while an erudite, cultured gentleman by no means shapes up as the leader

DO THESE DESERVE FAVOR?

Political - 1929

Party Association

Republican

HOOVER BRINGS CHANGE TO SOUTHERN POLITICS

The First Republican President Who Has Been Free to Attack the Evils of Office-Bartering, His Patronage Board Promises Important Reforms

By ARTHUR KROCK.

WHEN the election returns on the night of Nov. 6, 1928, showed that Virginia and Texas had voted Republican in a national campaign, a century-old political tradition was shattered. The defection from Democracy of Tennessee, North Carolina and Florida did not mean so much, and Kentucky's reaffirmed Republicanism meant nothing at all. In Kentucky the unprecedented size of Mr. Hoover's majority confirmed the belief of observers that here anti-Catholic and anti-west sentiment was strongest. But Kentucky began its Republican trend in 1896, the first of the battleground States of the '60s to separate "damyankee" into two words. From Tennessee's mountains a wave of national Republicanism had been steadily flowing toward the Mississippi since 1908; President Harding had carried Tennessee. The complexion of Florida's population has changed in the last five years from Southern to polyglot, and on the tariff issue alone North Carolina had long been veering toward the Republican party.

An Imaginary Line.

But Virginia, the native State of Lee, the seat of Jefferson Davis's government, the warder of antebellum culture—here was a defection which meant that the twentieth century should really see political change. And when Texas, the hostess State of the Houston convention, gave its electoral vote to Mr. Hoover the line fixed by Mason and Dixon became an "imaginary" as we used to be told ~~the~~ the equator is.

Contrary to the natural belief of the President and his advisers, this writer holds that the personality of Mr. Hoover had nothing to do with the political finish of the old South. It was certain to happen some day, for the South has been steadily

changing. But when in the person years later the Taft managers turned of the Democratic Presidential nomination against Colonel Roosevelt him-nee the prosperous manufacturing self, and his interest in Southern Southerners, and the church-going delegate reform became active and ones as well, discovered a wet, city-vocal. They have been the Hessians bred, Tammany Catholic, speaking of Republican politics, but—unlike the accents which it had long associated with the slums of Eastern Trenton in 1776—they have an un-er cities and New York delegations to ring instinct for the right place to national conventions, slow movement land. In 1908 and 1912 the name of changed to rapid action, and po- their Colonel was Frank H. Hitch- litically almost the last effect of the cock. He was the Postmaster Gen- war of States was wiped away. eral with the offices to bestow. By

Seeking to complete the destruc- 1920, however, Mr. Hitchcock al- tion of the Punk Age in politics ready smelled strongly of lilies, and the President recently made a state- the Southern blocs could not be held ment about reforming the organiza- firm for his candidate, General tion of his party in the South. The Wood, rushing headlong into the more one reads these firm words, the Harding camp when victory was the more one wonders why the Pres- seen to lie in that direction. ident who uttered them was not Some of Mr. Hoover's managers Theodore Roosevelt in 1905. He was did not hesitate to deal most prac- a member of one of the old families tically with these mercenaries while preparing for the Kansas City con- of the Confederate aristocracy in vention. And visitors to that gath- Georgia. He was the first President ering will not forget the jovial black elected since the war of States who face that popped up in the rear of had no contemporary association with that war. He was popular, the delegates' seats during a mere call to order, long before the nomi- powerful, a war hero. Of course, in nating stage, and when asked by the those days the white population of the chairman what he rose for, bellowed the South was far from voting the hungrily: "Hoo-vah!" the national Republican ticket, and Roosevelt's defiant gestures in favor of equality for negroes were personal and sensational. Yet had he said in March, 1905, what Mr. Hoover said in March, 1929, he would have taken no political risk for his party, and the defection from Democracy of North Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee, at least, might not so long have been postponed. For President Hoover merely announced that patronage broking and unfit recom- mendations for appointment must stop in the States of South Carolina, Mississippi and Georgia.

The Roosevelt Administration, however, did not seem concerned with much more than holding South- ern delegates for administration purposes, and in the nomination of William H. Taft these delegates were successfully marshaled. Four

much as he the situation of their

party in local politics in the South. Once or twice—and the incidents are at least two private diaries—a Repub- lican President banged his fist on his desk and said: "I won't stand for any more of this." But they all pretty generally did. For they were invariably told by their political mentors, and particularly by the cur- rent shepherd of the Southern dele- gations which had assured their nominations:

The Republican Argument.

"The South will always be Demo- cratic. The negroes have been loyal to us for fifty years. It is not their fault that they are as they are; the injustice of Southern community poli- tics forces it. How else can they live? If we turn to the lily-whites not only will the Southern negroes leave our party, but the great black colonies in New York, Columbus, In- dianapolis and Detroit will turn away, too. It means the loss of the election."

And that argument has usually been enough.

But Mr. Hoover was in an entirely different position. He could show the proof of the pudding. Author of a departmental order abolishing the segregation of blacks, he had yet carried five of the States of the Con- federacy and swept the South-tinged border. The "Hoovercrats" in those States who had made his victories possible, stung by taunts, threatened with party excommunication, sneered at because no Southerner had been placed in the Cabinet, appealed for aid in carrying on their work. They did not, and they do not, promise that the Republican party, even under President Hoover, will win many local elections in the Southern States. But they do prophesy, if this incumbent runs again, that they can deliver some Southern States again provided appointments and organiza- tions are made respectable. These same representations were made to Colonel Roosevelt, to Mr. Taft, to Mr. Harding and to Mr. Coolidge. But there was no electoral history to support them.

It is said by his close friends that, had Mr. Coolidge consented to take office again, he would have given the clean-up order himself. He had carried Kentucky easily and seen the near-South waver. There were plenti- ful evidences that prosperity was be- ginning to be associated in the South with that public policy of which he was the apostle. But the historical fact is that, for the reasons men- tioned, the word did not come until Mr. Hoover said it. And if he had not carried Texas and Virginia would

he have been more sure of Southern support for his position than were his predecessors?

The Turn Toward Smith.

When political destiny checked William G. McAdoo in the Madison Square Garden convention, the Hoover statement about Southern Republicanism began automatically to take form. For the elimination of McAdoo meant the rise of Smith; Democracy had no other leader. By a curious turn of fate the unescap- able choice of the Democratic party in 1928 was a man burdened in the South by every handicap which prejudice and a different form of social culture could put upon his back. The radio bawled his pronun- ciation into the living rooms of everybody in the country. In some communities that meant thousands of votes; in the South it aided toward the various State defections. Those defections persuaded Mr. Hoover that the bold course in the South with respect to patronage was the right course; his predecessors could never feel sure.

The modus operandi as announced is highly practical. The Postmaster General, Mr. Brown; one of the President's secretaries, Mr. New- ton; and the attorney of the Na- tional Committee, Mr. Burke, are to serve as the Southern patronage board. They will work with advisory committees, inspect applicants and leaders and seek generally to ar- range that desirable persons shall occupy the offices at the disposal of the Administration. To Congress and to the President this board will look for the enactment of those measures and the creation of that prosperity which shall win to the Republican banner Southerners who neither look for office nor care what local Republican is appointed. The triumvirate is in charge of the sup- plies of the boys in the trenches, the ruder but more numerous forces which must do the organization work for election days. Unless a Southern Republican leader can satisfy these three that he is the sort of man the Hoovercrats would follow, his word will be hollow and his recommendations blank.

The triumvirate is distinguished in its general lack of knowledge of per- sons and conditions in the South. But Postmaster General Brown is a quick learner, and in the pre-con- vention Hoover campaign he showed himself a very practical man, in- deed, in dealing with Southern dele- gates. C. Bascom Slomp, once secre- tary to President Coolidge, would have been an ideal triumvir were it

not for the recent history of patronage broking in Virginia. But unquestionably the referees will in camera have the benefit of his experience and skill.

The President's Plan.

The Washington dispatches relate that the President hopes to crystallize his Southern victories by assuring: (1) that henceforth the predilection of these States will not be taken for granted by any campaign manager; (2) that the number of Republican Congressmen will increase in that region. It is not said that he looks for local successes for his party. In that particular he is wise. The time may come when a Democratic candidate for Sheriff in Vermont may have a chance of election equal to that of his Republican opponent, and, reversing the labels, that time may also come in Mississippi. But to make the Southern Republican party lily-white—and that is the natural conclusion to be drawn from the President's statement—will not solve the negro question, socially or politically. Respectable appointments will make it easier for the white population to vote Republican in national elections, especially when they find such provocation to their prejudices as the last Democratic candidate suggested. But in the neighborhood government the Democratic label will represent social protection for as far ahead as contemporary eyes can see.

Some hasty analysts have mused in print whether the President's notice to his Southern organizations will send the negroes into the Democratic party. That also is not soon to be expected. They will not be granted suffrage by the Far South on such a hope; they will not be permitted to serve as delegates to Democratic national conventions; they not only are not needed by the Democrats, but their fidelity to the Republican party in those States is one of Democracy's few assets. When the South adopted prohibition as its leading tenet most of the principles for which the Confederacy had fought and the Tilden-Cleveland-Wilson régimes contended were by that act abandoned. The Democratic party must continue to assure white supremacy in the South and the form of order preferred by these communities to hold its position at all. The President cannot drive the negroes from his party by proscribing their disreputable leaders and cutting down their divvy of Federal patronage. The negroes have nowhere else to go.

A Case in Point.

Perhaps an illustration of why local elections go Democratic in the South may be supplied by a child's memory. In Southern Ken-

tucky, years ago, a negro youth attached himself as "body servant" and cherished companion to the author of these lines. His parents, strong in the classical tradition of nomenclature, had nominated him "Virgil." He was of the ethnic species known as a "blue-gum"—not that his gums were blue, but that he was most at home in a swamp. Cheerfully, eagerly he performed all labors; he bore with solemn pride the persecutions of the dominant juveniles. If archery was the fashion, Virgil was often used as target. He drew the cart when the pony was in an ugly humor. All the tasks of the humble were his, but for reward he had the companionship of the lofty spirits whom he attended and the right—sole among the negro boys—to swim in that sacred pool of South Fork Creek which ran through his tyrant's plantation. In several years Virgil was never known to express a thought which dealt, even faintly, with matters spiritual or temporal. Nor could persuasions, either birchen or religious, induce him to darken—oh, so literally—the doors of the rude schoolhouse of his ilk.

Some years later his "master" of childhood days returned to the town and asked for Virgil. There was pointed out to him, in rusty silk hat, in clerical clothes—their effect somewhat stunningly altered by a flaming red neckerchief—a dusky orator haranguing a grinning group of his fellows behind a grocery store. He told them they were for Fairbanks, not for Taft, and they assented. His features, even the voice which from infancy had seemed to come from a swallowed bassoon, were unmistakable. It was Virgil. But he had been "called," he adorned a pulpit of Torquemadan orthodoxy, and he was to be chosen delegate to the Republican National Convention.

JOURNAL-NEWS

ITHACA, N. Y. -

Apr. 13 1929

Making A New South

Julian Harris, son of "Uncle Remus" and owner of the Columbus (Georgia) Enquirer-Sun, winner of a Pulitzer prize for his consistent fight against the klan, against religious bigotry and against ill treatment of Negroes, was not a "Hoovercrat". He was loyal to Al Smith, as Georgia was. Hence his indorsement of the Hoover idea of so reorganizing the Republican management in Dixie as to make a "two-party South" possible is particularly significant.

The Vardamans, the Bleases, the Hefins

ADVERTISER

ELMIRA, N. Y.

MAR 30 1929

PATRONAGE BROKERS.

Republican party organizations in Southern states have been recognized dispensaries for patronage, which has been doled out at a price. These organizations have been mainly in the hands of Negroes, and the leaders or bosses have shamelessly sold appointments to public office to those who paid the highest price.

This is the condition against which Mr. Hoover has "read the riot act." He insists that party organizations throughout the South must be dependable. He asks for the establishment of the "highest type of citizenship to deal with the administrative questions and who will co-operate with independent Democrats."

He did not take this position and insist upon it without consultation with a number of interested leaders from some of the Southern states.

There is no secret of the fact that in very many localities in the South it has been impossible for white voters to participate in public matters as Republicans. They are greatly outnumbered by the Negroes and co-operation has been impossible. Whether the break from the Democratic party last Fall will continue and through amalgamation of independent Democrats and white Republicans may bring about new organization, is a question to be answered by time. Evidently this is what Mr. Hoover aims at in his recent statement.

It is certain, however, that he does not intend to recognize government job brokers in the distribution of favors. The preemptory manner in which he has acted in getting rid of undesirables in South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi indicate that.

are the fruit of the one-party system. They survive as a sequence of the methods held necessary in reconstruction days to keep the Negroes down, methods that might be revived, at any time if the blacks were to demand political equality instead of peacefully submitting to its denial. The notions of these statesmen are those of 1876. They are blind to the industrial development of the South which affects tariff sentiment so strongly. They are blind to the menace to Dixie's labor market from the flight of hundreds of thousands of Negroes to the North to get a white man's chance in life.

Let us hope that Julian Harris is more truly representative of the forces that are making the New South. And we are glad that his mind runs with President Hoover on the two-party plan for the southern states. Republican reform can accomplish much for the reform of Democracy in the Cotton States.

"SILVER LINING" BELIEF

Many Are Confident That The New Organization Will Admit Negroes; The Pessimistic Do Not Understand Hoover's Purpose.

CHICAGO, April 18. — (A. N. P.) — Negro Republican leaders in the South, it seems, are disposed to see the silver lining in the cloud of speculation that rose out of President Hoover's recently announced intention of reorganizing the Republican party in the South. While most of these men and women have preferred to keep quiet, their private expressions reveal them as being hopeful and those few who are disposed to speak out loud are unequivocal in their endorsement of the President's action.

There is in most statements made a decided amount of faith in the man, Hoover.

D. W. Sherrod, chairman of the Lauderdale county Republican executive committee in Mississippi, a colored member of the so-called lily-white faction which has opposed the Perry Howard group, writes from Meridian:

"The statement of President Hoover has been interpreted in various ways, especially in this state, and we are yet wondering what effect it will have on the political growth and progress of the party in this state. I am sure that at present the effect will be depressing on the minds and in the political ac-

tivities of most Negro leaders, who are unable to see what is intended by the President's move. But I believe that if we give the President the proper cooperation in his efforts to clarify the situation and to build a real Republican party in the South, one that will be able to compete with the Democratic party, and head this Republican party with honest, able men of Christian character, in the course of time the

franchise, which is so much needed for the Negro in this section, will be forced to come and the Negro will thus be politically emancipated." Mrs. George S. Williams, Republican national committeewoman for the state of Georgia, also lines up behind Hoover in the following telegram: "I have every confidence in President Hoover. The President

not for the recent history of patronage-broking in Virginia. But unattached himself as "body servant" questionably the referees will in camera have the benefit of his experience and skill.

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The Washington dispatches relate that the President hopes to crystallize his Southern victories by assuring: (1) that henceforth the predilection of these States will not be taken for granted by any campaign manager; (2) that the number of Republican Congressmen will increase in that region. It is not said that he looks for local successes for his party. In that particular he is wise. The time may come when a Democratic candidate for Sheriff in Vermont may have a chance of election equal to that of his Republican opponent, and, reversing the labels, that time may also come in Mississippi. But to make the Southern Republican party lily-white—and that is the natural conclusion to be drawn from the President's statement—will not solve the negro question, socially or politically. Respectable appointments will make it easier for the white population to vote Republican in national elections, especially when they find such provocation to their prejudices as the last Democratic candidate suggested. But in the neighborhood government the Democratic label will represent social protection for as far ahead as contemporary eyes can see.

Some hasty analysts have mused in print whether the President's notice to his Southern organizations will send the negroes into the Democratic party. That also is not soon to be expected. They will not be granted suffrage by the Far South on such a hope; they will not be permitted to serve as delegates to Democratic national conventions; they not only are not needed by the Democrats, but their fidelity to the Republican party in those States is one of Democracy's few assets. When the South adopted prohibition as its leading tenet most of the principles for which the Confederacy had fought and the Tilden-Cleveland-Wilson régimes contended were by that act abandoned. The Democratic party must continue to assure white supremacy in the South and the form of order preferred by these communities to hold its position at all. The President cannot drive the negroes from his party by proscribing their reputable leaders and cutting down their divvy of Federal patronage. The negroes have nowhere else to go.

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Some years later his "master" of childhood days returned to the town and asked for Virgil. There was this is what Mr. Hoover aims at in his recent statement.

It is certain, however, that he does not intend to recognize government job brokers in the distribution of favors. The preemptory manner in which he has acted in getting rid of undesirables in South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi fellows behind a grocery store. He indicate that.

Some hasty analysts have mused in print whether the President's notice to his Southern organizations will send the negroes into the Democratic party. That also is not soon to be expected. They will not be granted suffrage by the Far South on such a hope; they will not be permitted to serve as delegates to Democratic national conventions; they not only are not needed by the Democrats, but their fidelity to the Republican party in those States is one of Democracy's few assets. When the South adopted prohibition as its leading tenet most of the principles for which the Confederacy had fought and the Tilden-Cleveland-Wilson régimes contended were by that act abandoned. The Democratic party must continue to assure white supremacy in the South and the form of order preferred by these communities to hold its position at all. The President cannot drive the negroes from his party by proscribing their reputable leaders and cutting down their divvy of Federal patronage. The negroes have nowhere else to go.

JOURNAL-NEWS

ITHACA, N. Y. -

April 13 1929

Making A New South

Julian Harris, son of "Uncle Remus" and owner of the Columbus (Georgia) Enquirer-Sun, winner of a Pulitzer prize for his consistent fight against the Klan, against religious bigotry and against ill treatment of Negroes, was not a "Hoover-crater". He was loyal to Al Smith, as Georgia was. Hence his indorsement of the Hoover idea of so reorganizing the Republican management in Dixie as to make a "two-party South" possible is particularly significant.

The Vardamans, the Bleases, the Heflins

ADVERTISER

ELMIRA, N. Y.

MAR 30 1929 PATRONAGE BROKERS.

Republican party organizations in Southern states have been recognized dispensaries for patronage, which has been doled out at a price. These organizations have been mainly in the hands of Negroes, and the leaders or bosses have shamelessly sold appointments to public office to those who paid the highest price.

This is the condition against which Mr. Hoover has "read the riot act." He insists that party organizations throughout the South must be dependable. He asks for the establishment of the "highest type of citizenship to deal with the administrative questions and who will co-operate with independent Democrats."

He did not take this position and insist upon it without consultation with a number of interested leaders from some of the Southern states.

There is no secret of the fact that in very many localities in the South it has been impossible for white voters to participate in public matters as Republicans. They are greatly outnumbered by the Negroes and co-operation has been impossible. Whether the break from the Democratic party last Fall will continue and through amalgamation of independent Democrats and white Republicans may bring about new organization, is a question to be answered by time. Evidently this is what Mr. Hoover aims at in his recent statement.

It is certain, however, that he does not intend to recognize government job brokers in the distribution of favors. The preemptory manner in which he has acted in getting rid of undesirables in South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi

are the fruit of the one-party system. They survive as a sequence of the methods held necessary in reconstruction days to keep the Negroes down, methods that might be revived, at any time if the blacks were to demand political equality instead of peacefully submitting to its denial. The notions of these statesmen are those of 1876. They are blind to the industrial development of the South which affects tariff sentiment so strongly. They are blind to the menace to Dixie's labor market from the flight of hundreds of thousands of Negroes to the North to get a white man's chance in life. Let us hope that Julian Harris is more truly representative of the forces that are making the New South. And we are glad that his mind runs with President Hoover on the two-party plan for the southern states. Republican reform can accomplish much for the reform of Democracy in the Cotton States.

"SILVER LINING" BELIEF

Many Are Confident That The New Organization Will Admit Negroes; The Pessimistic Do Not Understand Hoover's Purpose.

CHICAGO, April 18. — (A. N. P.) — Negro Republican leaders in the South, it seems, are disposed to see the silver lining in the cloud of speculation that rose out of President Hoover's recently announced intention of reorganizing the Republican party in the South. While most of these men and women have preferred to keep quiet, their private expressions reveal them as being hopeful and those few who are disposed to speak out loud are unequivocal in their endorsement of the President's action.

There is in most statements made a decided amount of faith in the man, Hoover. D. W. Sherrod, chairman of the Lauderdale county Republican executive committee in Mississippi, a colored member of the so-called lily-white faction which has opposed the Perry Howard group, writes from Meridian: "The statement of President Hoover has been interpreted in various ways, especially in this state, and we are yet wondering what effect it will have on the political growth and progress of the party in this state. I am sure that at present the effect will be depressing on the minds and in the political activities of most Negro leaders, who are unable to see what is intended by the President's move. But I believe that if we give the President the proper cooperation in his efforts to clarify the situation and to build a real Republican party in the South, one that will be able to compete with the Democratic party, and head this Republican party with honest, able men of Christian character, in the course of time the

franchise, which is so much needed for the Negro in this section, will be forced to come and the Negro will thus be politically emancipated." Mrs. George S. Williams, Republican national committeewoman for the state of Georgia, also lines up behind Hoover in the following telegram: "I have every confidence in President Hoover. The President knows that the misleadership of the Republicans in the South has been white as well as colored. Any policy recognizing lily-white leadership would not only be un-American but cruelly ungrateful to the colored people and would profit the party nothing permanently in the South or in the nation."

Political - 1929

Party Affiliation

Republican.

Patronage Committees In South Fail To Obtain Administration Approval

Georgia, South Carolina and Florida Groups Being Reorganized by Postmaster-General.

Washington, April 24.—(P)—Patronage committees set up by republican leaders in some of the southern states in consultation with Postmaster-General A. Mann, who directed the Hoover presidential campaign in the south, have failed to gain complete administration approval.

Those selected for three of the states—Georgia, South Carolina and Florida—are in process of reorganization under the direction of Postmaster-General Brown; Walter D. Brown, administrative assistant to the president, and James Francis Burke, general counsel of the republican national committee.

Those for two other states—Mississippi and Alabama—have been approved and it was stated today that a satisfactory committee was being organized in Texas under the direction of R. B. Creager, the republican national committeeman.

There being no national committeeman for Georgia since the deposition of Ben W. Davis, negro, by the Kansas City convention last June, an executive committee of three was placed in control of the committee, one of which with six other members, one for each of the two congressional districts in the state, under the Mann plan. Committee members were H. G. Hastings, Lindsey Hopkins and R. J. Guinn, of Atlanta, the first two republicans and the third a democrat who supported Hoover.

Committeemen Named.

The district committeemen were Charles Adamson, of Cedartown; J. H. Fetty, of Savannah; T. N. Hendricks, of Edison; H. C. Lovvora, of Carrollton; Mrs. Henry C. Davis, of Macon, and Mrs. Mary Harris Armour, of Tate.

A national committeeman for Georgia is yet to be selected by the republican national committee, but the expectation is that whoever is agreed upon to head the new committee for that state may be selected as the successor to Davis.

In the cases of Virginia and North Carolina, committees are unnecessary. It was explained that appointment of postmasters would be handled through the republican congressmen elected from those states and that recommendations for other appointments would come through the national committeemen, the state chairman and others, including outstanding demo-

crats who supported Hoover for the presidency.

No move is being made by the administration committee of three in the case of Tennessee. A watchful waiting policy has been adopted pending a determination whether the recent harmony conference in that state will produce desired results.

Refusal of the administration committee to approve the committees which had been endorsed by Mann may bring a break between the president and his former southern campaign manager. Friends of Mann assert that he is ready to ask for a showdown and that if he fails to obtain it he is ready to retire from the political picture.

Started In Campaign.

Reorganization of the party in the south was begun by Mann during the campaign and he has undertaken to complete that work by setting up new committees in the states. Some of these have been disapproved and will be completely reorganized.

One aim of Mann was to end negro rule within the party in the few remaining states where it existed and it is indicated clearly that this policy is to be followed by the administration committee in whatever organizations are set up.

This has been done in the case of Mississippi, where Lamont Rowlands, who directed the Hoover campaign for the Mann in that state, is organizing a committee. Perry W. Howard, negro executive committee of three was placed in control of the committee, one of which with six other members, one for each of the two congressional districts in the state, under the Mann plan. Committee members were H. G. Hastings, Lindsey Hopkins and R. J. Guinn, of Atlanta, the first two republicans and the third a democrat who supported Hoover.

Oliver D. Street, national committeeman for Alabama, heads the committee in that state, which, like the one in Mississippi, has in its membership prominent democrats who gave their support to Hoover in the last campaign.

Selected Committee.

Glenn B. Skipper, republican national committeeman for Florida, and Mann, selected the committee for Florida which has been found unsatisfactory by Postmaster-General Brown, Newton and Burke. A protest against the Skipper-Mann organization was lodged by A. E. Knotts, republican state chairman; W. J. Howie, republican candidate for governor in the last election, and J. Leonard Replogle, of Palm Beach, who left Washington today for Florida after conferences with the administration committee.

Members of this committee said that both Knotts and Howie, who polled sufficient votes to enable the republican party to place a full state slate of candidates in the primaries at the next election, were ignored by Skipper and Mann in making up the committee, which includes in its membership

George Fish, of Jacksonville; Leo Stalnaker, of Tampa, and Mrs. J. H. Williams, of Jacksonville, democrats who supported Hoover, and George B. Denny, of Bradenton; Mrs. Ida A. Oberlin, of Miami, and Mrs. Eunice Morgan of Tampa, regular republicans.

Administration officers said this committee was not sufficiently representative to meet with approval and that some of those on it would be dropped with substitutions made, although it was stated that neither Howie nor Knotts was asking for membership.

In South Carolina a committee was set up under the leadership of Walter F. Brown, who had charge of the Hoover campaign in that state, with the national committeeman, Joseph T. Tolbert, ignored. This committee failed to meet with the approval of the administration and a new one is being organized, but it was stated that Tolbert would not have membership on it.

One of the first moves to obtain official approval of the Mann plan was to present it to the executive committee of the republican national committee. After some discussion a ruling was requested of the general counsel, James Francis Burke, who held that the committee had no authority to invade the states and set up committees.

Mann Demands Recognition Of Patronage Committees On Pain of Quitting Councils

Colonel Says Hoover
Must Choose Between
Him and Lily Whites and
Brown and Negroes.

BY GLADSTONE WILLIAMS.

Washington, April 21.—President Hoover today found himself the center of another merry row over the southern patronage question which, for the moment, gives prospects of leading to a break with either Postmaster General Walter H. Brown or Colonel Horace A. Mann, manager of the southern campaign.

In the face of an announcement by Postmaster General Brown that the special committees recently set up in Georgia and South Carolina for dispensing federal patronage would not be recognized in filling appointments coming under his department, Colonel Mann, who directed the establishment of the committees, was declared to be ready to sever all connection with the administration unless the committees are upheld.

The colonel let it be known here to-

day in no uncertain language that he will not stand for any interference in the patronage committee structure already announced. Either the committees will function in recommending all federal appointments, or he will wash his hands finally of the whole southern reorganization program.

Brown Is Unyielding.

On the other hand, the postmaster general was equally emphatic that a new setup would be necessary to gain recognition from his department in making postmastership appointments. He declared that he had not been consulted and no administration authority had been given in the appointment of the committees for Georgia or South Carolina, both of which were released in Washington by Colonel Mann. As for the Florida committee announced by republican national committeeman Glenn B. Skipper, of Miami, he was less specific, but indicated that this, too, might be disregarded so far as he was concerned.

Proceeding on the idea that the patronage bodies are officially non-existent, Mr. Brown told the correspond-

MANN DEMANDS

FULL G. O. P. POWER

Continued from First Page.

ent that in due time he would establish advisory committees of his own.

He said the department was giving consideration to the matter now and already had received a long list of applicants anxious to serve.

The statement of the postmaster-general caused something akin to amazement among Washington observers who have closely followed developments in the southern patronage situation, which already has precipitated an open break between Colonel Mann and Chairman Hubert Work, of the republican national committee. In informed circles it has been the understanding here from the start that the committees in Georgia, North Carolina and Florida were not only selected with the consent of President Hoover, but were actually approved by him before their announcement.

Had Hoover Approval.

In the case of Georgia and South Carolina, the committees were released a few days after the formal announcement by the president at the White House that former southern republican organization leaders who had been discredited by scandals unearthed by the Brookhart patronage investigative body, would be given no further voice in administration affairs. Florida's committee was announced earlier.

The White House statement is known to have been given out at the request of Colonel Mann, who previously had renounced his connection with the southern management after the national committee declined to approve his southern reorganization plans. It was interpreted as a clear-cut victory for the colonel over Chairman Work and the others who had opposed him. The effect of it was to place him back in the picture as a powerful administration figure with a full voice over southern republican affairs.

In the face of this development, it was held inconceivable here today that the president now would allow himself to become a party to a scheme for upsetting the committee arrangements worked out by his southern manager.

Brown Favors Negroes.

In some quarters the suggestion is advanced that Postmaster-General Brown has acted on the protests of disgruntled elements in the southern states without consulting Mr. Hoover fully on the subject. As soon as the committees were announced in each of the three states, leaders of the various factions not represented on the patronage bodies began an organized protest against the arrangement. The postmaster-general is understood to have been impressed particularly with the complaint of negro republican leaders who brought the quiet but intense lament to Washington that they were being denied a voice in things.

Incidentally, the basis of Colonel Mann's southern reorganization program all along has been a lily white party. He has made no secret of his belief that without lily white leadership no responsible republican organization can ever be built up in the south. As a native of Tennessee, he has a first-hand knowledge of the necessities of southern republicanism.

Postmaster General Brown's political experience has been along a different line. In his home state of Ohio the negro vote is an important factor and at times has been known

to exercise the balance of power. He, therefore, has been reluctant to accept a patronage program based on lily white aims.

Another political figure linked with the postmaster general in the newly developed conflict is James Francis Burke, of Pennsylvania, counsel for the republican national committee. He is known to be sympathetic to the position of Chairman Work respecting the southern reorganization plans, and has been agitating a change in the personnel of the patronage com-

Party Reorganization Patronage Committees In South Fail To Obtain Administration Approval

Georgia, South Carolina, Florida and Alabama, Groups Being Reorganized by Postmaster-General.

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Colonel Brown Says Hoover Must Choose Between Him and Lily Whites and Brown and Negroes.

BY GLADSTONE WILLIAMS.
Washington, April 21.—President Hoover today found himself the center of another merry row over the patronage question which, southern republicans give prospects of leading to a break with either Postmaster-General Walter H. Brown or Colonel Horace A. Mann, manager of the southern campaign.

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MANN DEMANDS FULL C. O. P. POWER

Continued from First Page.

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G. O. P. PATRONAGE RULING IN GEORGIA IS EXPECTED SOON

Satisfactory' Agreement to Mann Leaders Seen; Skipper Faction Ousts Knotts in Florida.

BY GLADSTONE WILLIAMS.

Washington, May 13.—As Florida republicans were meeting at Jacksonville today, the fight over authority of the patronage committee set up there, word came from semi-official sources here to indicate that some announcement may be forthcoming from the Hoover administration this week indicating a conflict in the ranks of Georgia republicans.

Members of the president's unofficial southern patronage body, headed by Postmaster-General Walter F. Brown, had no comment to make on the Georgia situation today, but if the private advice can be trusted the new arrangement to be approved by the White House will be "satisfactory" to leaders in the state identified with the patronage committee created under direction of Colonel Horace A. Mann, pre-election southern manager.

It remains to be seen just what the president proposes to do, or just what he may have done already, if anything. Whatever action is taken is not expected to be announced in a fashion to widen the breach between his postmaster-general and his southern campaign manager, growing out of the former's repudiation of the Mann patronage committees in Georgia, Florida, South Carolina and one or two other southern states.

Leaders are Confident.

Nevertheless, there is an air of confidence about those who have supported Colonel Mann in his present fight. Leaders of the group are confining themselves to the statement that they feel "everything will be worked out—and satisfactorily."

It is possible that the Georgia situation may be influenced somewhat by the victory of the Mann factions in Florida today. Afternoon press dispatches from Jacksonville gave Postmaster-General Brown and his associates a shock with the news that the republican state committee ousted by a vote of 28 to 7 State Chairman A. F. Knotts, leader of the faction opposed to National Committee Glenn B. Skipper, chief of the Florida contingent.

The Jacksonville meeting was called to determine authority of two committees set up for guiding federal appointments in the state. After Skipper had announced his committee, composed of Mann followers, Knotts established a second body, acting, it is asserted, under direction of Postmaster-General Brown. James Francis Burke, counsel for the republican national committee, and former Representative Walter H. Newton, political secretary to the president.

Knotts is Ousted.

In its last analysis, the Florida state central committee was assembled in extraordinary session for the purpose of upholding either Colonel Mann or the Brown-Burke-Newton triumvirate. The meeting expressed itself by ousting Knotts, leader of the triumvirate.

Mr. Hoover has thus had it impressed upon him that the Florida republican organization, which functioned in giving him the state's electoral vote in the last election, has no sympathy with the efforts of Postmaster-General Brown to interfere in local patronage. Under the circumstances it is hardly likely that he will now allow the Knotts committee to exercise any considerable voice.

Leaders of the Mann group in Georgia, including H. G. Hastings, of Atlanta, regular republican manager during the campaign, and Barry Wright, of Rome, manager of the Hoover campaign, occupy a position similar to that of Skipper in Florida. They are opposing the Brown-made committee as the recognized leaders of the Hoover campaign in Georgia.

Failure of the president to send any Georgia postmaster nominations to the senate during the past 10 days is taken to mean that he is going into the state squabble in an effort to reach some adjustment. At its initial meeting at Atlanta some two weeks ago, the Brown patronage committee recommended reappointment of 13 Georgia postmasters whose terms have expired, it is learned. Although ample time has elapsed to allow the nominations to be made in the regular course, no word has come from the White House to indicate when they may be expected. The same is true of Florida and South Carolina appointments.

Lucas Recommended.

One of the reappointments recommended by the Brown committee in Georgia, headed by Lindsey Hopkins, of Atlanta, was that of Postmaster Lucas, of Savannah, brother of Arthur Lucas, of Atlanta, who came to Washington with Messrs. Hastings, Wright and Major R. J. Guinn, of Atlanta, to protest against recognition of the Brownites.

While there is no official authority for the statement it is suggested here that President Hoover may have submitted the list of postmaster recommendations to the Hastings group for their approval before announcing appointments. In the end it may be the chief executive will adopt this course as a solution to the problem, requiring both committees to reach an agreement before sending nominations to the senate.

Another course that has been suggested calls for a definite division of authority between the two committees, with the Brown committee given jurisdiction over postmastership and the

Mann body directed to name all other federal officeholders in the state, including the new census workers.

SKIPPER BACKERS OUST A. F. KNOTTS.

South Jacksonville, Fla., May 13.—(AP)—Forty members of the state republican central committee, meeting here today, ousted A. F. Knotts, Yankeetown, as chairman, and adopted resolutions endorsing the leadership of Glenn B. Skipper, national committeeman, and Mrs. David R. Grace, national committeewoman, in patronage matters.

The resolutions, dealing with patronage, confirmed Skipper's "little cabinet," chosen as an advisory board to assist the national committeeman in federal appointment matters, and expressed resentment at "outside interference" in patronage recommendations.

The gantlet was flung down to the Knotts faction, which has announced a different set of patronage referees when the members voted to repudiate any patronage committee except as approved by the national committeeman.

Knotts' ouster was based on Rule 35 of the state committee, it was said, providing that the committee has full power to change the chairman of committees and the structure of the state party organization. It followed a clashing debate in which proponents of the ouster declared Knotts should be unseated because of "political incompatibility and political infidelity." On the other hand, those opposing the ouster asserted that Knotts should be given a copy of any charges and be granted a hearing. This argument was met from the other side with the declaration that formal charges had not been filed as removal was sought because of incompatibility between Knotts and Skipper and his supporters.

Speakers declared that Knotts, Barclay H. Warburton, candidate for United States senator in the last elections, and J. Leonard Replogle, Palm Beach millionaire, had gone to Washington and fought Skipper's efforts.

The ouster vote was 28 to 7, with 5 not voting. The secretary announced that 40 of the 69 members of the committee were present in person or by proxy. It was said that 15 members constituted a quorum.

KNOTTS WILL IGNORE COMMITTEE ACTION.

Yankeetown, Fla., May 13.—(AP)—A. F. Knotts, declared deposed as chairman of the state republican central committee by a meeting of 40 members at South Jacksonville today, will "pay no attention" to the ouster session, he said tonight.

"The meeting was illegal under Rule 37 of the state committee," declared Knotts. "As soon as the state has been completely organized, I will call the central committee together."

Knotts said patronage had nothing to do with the fight between his faction and Skipper's.

"The whole question is whether Skipper is going to be allowed to run the party from Washington or whether the party here is going to make Skipperdom its bidding," declared Knotts.

Between The Lines

By GORDON B. HANCOCK

Taking What Is Left

During the past presidential campaign, more than once we deplored in this column the fact that the Negro was a "political orphan"; that he was not seriously wanted by either Democrats or Republicans. The outcome of the election was in many ways corroborative of our contention, for the Democrats could not have won with the Negro vote and the Republicans could have won without it. The split Negro vote only aggravated the situation! We contended from the beginning that the cards were stacked against the Democratic Party, and for the Negro to cast his vote therewith was politically suicidal. The campaign of 1928 was the poorest of all times for the Negro to seek redress for past Republican political delinquencies as they pertained to the Negro race. The Negro's peculiar political status in this country necessarily makes opportunism the Negro's chiefest hope for such amelioration as politics may afford. To have voted the Democrat ticket last November was an abuse of the principle of opportunism. The Democrats had nothing left to offer and the Republicans are affecting an indifference to the Negro's wishes that is disquieting. All around we hear the Negroes deploring the political outlook of the race. Can the race reasonably expect more?

* * * *

The open break of a considerable contingent of the Negro vote with the Republican Party may have the disastrous effects of alienating what little preferment the Republican Party has been wont to give. Heretofore the Negro has had to take "what was left" but there are reasons to believe that the Negro's open bolt has given the Grand Old Party an airtight 'excuse' to reduce the Negro further. Just as the Negroes dared to cast a "spite vote" against the Republican Party, maybe the latter is going to retaliate with intimate alignments with and endorsements of, the Lily Whites of the South. There has been no time since the Negro's emancipation when the Republican Party had better "excuse" for deserting the Negro, and for taking away what little privileges he has been hitherto accorded. What is more, the Republican Party can desert the Negro without any compunction of conscience, for it can rest in the plea that it was deserted by the Negro who is without substantial grounds for expecting more than the political "leavings". While such may be poor ethics, it may nevertheless be fine politics! All is fair in love and war and politics.

* * * *

We are hoping however that Mr. Hoover's ulterior motives are the very best and that his political policies in the South look forward to a larger future of the Negroes of this nation. The Negro can afford to be denied political offices but he cannot afford to be denied the ballot. Wherein Hoover's policy has for its objective the ultimate enfranchisement of the Negro masses as opposed to the political preferment of a few Negro politicians as at

present, we may hope for the best; but wherein Mr. Hoover's advocacy of lily-whiteism in the South is designed primarily to curtail the already limited political privileges of the Negro, it becomes ominous and tragic. We hope the Republican Party does not resort to retaliatory tactics, for in such event the Negro's way will be up hill and through the dark. It is the Negro office-holder and office-seeker who is the political ghost which haunts the Southern white man, and it is this fear that widens the chasm which separates the Negro from his larger freedom. The fear of the Negro office-holder is the Red Sea which swells before the race as it sets out from the Egypt of political bondage. If Mr. Hoover seeks to allay these fears and looks forward to more ultimate considerations which involve the Negroes, we have nothing to fear. If under Mr. Hoover we could advance a "political inch" that is permanent, we are better off than to advance a "political foot" today to be thrown back a "political yard" tomorrow where and when Democrats are in power! The thing that the Negro craves in this country cannot be given by a hundred Hoovers. No president can undo within four or eight brief years what has been done for centuries. What the Negro craves must come with a change of sentiment rather than with a change of presidents. Hoover is bound hands and feet with the cords of an anti-Negro sentiment that is amazingly strong in this country. With the granting of a measure of political preferment by Republican administrations in the past, there has been a gradual momentum given this anti-Negro sentiment. If by a change of tactics Mr. Hoover can reverse this growth in sentiment, his present policies may be abundantly justified. A race that divides its vote against a party which only the greatest miracles could keep from power, must be content to take "what is left!" To date Hoover has done nothing to make this writer doubt his integrity and fair-mindedness.

When one man will not play the man another will and in truth every dark cloud has its silver lining. A North Carolina Congressman loathes the thought of occupying Congressional offices adjoining those of a Negro Congressman. A New York Congressman seeks to have his rooms adjoining those of a Negro Congressman. Don't curse all white people! Of course "the Southern white man is the Negro's best friend" and the Congressman from North Carolina proves it. Keep on the lookout for white friends and be every ready to make with them common cause.

* * * *

What this country needs is some method of inducing bank cashiers and public trustees to commit suicide before their "accounts run short."

* * * *

The man who does not drive a Ford takes great pleasure in that fact; the man who drives a Ford takes his pleasure in driving around the other fellow. Each man gets his kick out of car ownership.

Political-1929

Party Affiliation

WORLD-HERALD

OMAHA, NEB.

APR 1 - 1929

Gleaned from Many Fields

The Republican Party South.

(Chicago Tribune.)

President Hoover has revived the problem of reconstruction in the south. Having captured Florida and the border states for the republican party, he is challenging the democratic monopoly in Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina. He has repudiated the republican party organizations dominated by Negroes in those states and the president directs that they be replaced by new leaders, presumably white. In Texas, Alabama, and Florida the existing republican organizations will be subject to the discipline of advisory committees acceptable to the administration.

The reorganization is undertaken, according to the official announcement, to create a working two-party system in the south and to eliminate abuses in federal patronage and other corruption. It is, of course, entirely proper for the president to attempt the correction of unwholesome conditions whereby republican delegates from the south are traded in at the conventions and whereby government jobs are peddled.

The welfare of the nation, Mr. Hoover said, depends upon strong two-party representation and organization, with the abolition of sectionalism. That is a good doctrine, but in order to accomplish it the democratic party in the south must be reformed as well as the republican. What Mr. Hoover proposes to do is to abolish the republican organization as a protection for the Negroes and deliver it to a faction of the democratic party. It will be remodeled for its new occupants, freed from its Negro tenants, and furnished as a socially acceptable mansion for southern gentlemen. The republican party will sacrifice its Negroes. Wades, Sumners, and Stevens are needed to prevent it.

Under existing conditions in the south the republican party organization has been the only asylum for the Negro. In violation of the constitution, he is disfranchised and the protection of the ballot box is denied to him. He gets slave justice in the southern courts and he may be murdered with impunity. Only, then, in the councils of the republican organization has he found a moderate sanctuary. Arranged against him are the southern whites with their Ku Klux

Klan, whites with a thirst for mint juleps for themselves and prohibition for the Negro. The enemies of the Negro compose the democratic party in the south.

If Mr. Hoover succeeds in attracting southern squires to the republican party he must first drive the Negroes from it. That will leave both parties to the kluxers and the drys, and the republican party will be even more anti-Negro than the democratic. It will be an unmerciful surrender of loyal men into total subjection. The Negro has been faithful to the republican party because it gave him the only protection he ever knew; now he is to be betrayed by his friends.

The upbuilding of a strong two-party system in the south should not come until the south enfranchises the Negro or takes the constitutional penalty of reduction of representation in congress for failure to do so. Furthermore there must be evidence that the Negro is to be given justice in the courts. The republican party must not compromise with the nullificationists. It cannot repudiate its origins.

Republican.

NEW YORK TIMES

APR 14 1929

HOOVER BRINGS CHANGE TO SOUTHERN POLITICS

The First Republican President Who Has Been Free to Attack the Evils of Office-Bartering, His Patronage

Board Promises Important Reforms

By ARTHUR KROCK.

WHEN the election returns on the night of Nov. 6, 1928, showed that Virginia and Texas had voted Republican in a national campaign, a century-old political tradition was shattered. The defection from Democracy of Tennessee, North Carolina and Florida did not mean so much, and Kentucky's reaffirmed Republicanism meant nothing at all. In Kentucky the unprecedented size of Mr. Hoover's majority confirmed the belief of observers that here anti-Catholic and anti-wet sentiment was strongest. But Kentucky began its Republican trend in 1896, the first of the battleground States of the '60s to separate "damyankee" into two words. From Tennessee's mountains a wave of national Republicanism had been steadily flowing toward the Mississippi since 1908; President Harding had carried Tennessee. The complexion of Florida's population has changed in the last five years from Southern to polyglot, and on the tariff issue alone North Carolina had long been veering toward the Republican party.

An Imaginary Line.

But Virginia, the native State of Lee, the seat of Jefferson Davis's government, the warder of antebellum culture—here was a defection which meant that the twentieth century should really see political change. And when Texas, the hostess State of the Houston convention, gave its electoral vote to Mr. Hoover the line fixed by Mason and Dixon became as "imaginary" as we used to be told in school the equator is.

Contrary to the natural belief of the President and his advisers, this writer holds that the personality of Mr. Hoover had nothing to do with the political finish of the old South. It was certain to happen some day, for the South has been steadily

changing. But when in the person of the Democratic Presidential nominee the prosperous manufacturing Southerners, and the church-going ones as well, discovered a wet, city-bred, Tammany Catholic, speaking the accents which it had long associated with the slums of Eastern cities and New York delegations to national conventions, slow movement changed to rapid action, and politically almost the last effect of the war of States was wiped away.

Seeking to complete the destruction of the Punic Age in politics the President recently made a statement about reforming the organization of his party in the South. The more one reads these firm words, the more one wonders why the President who uttered them was not Theodore Roosevelt in 1905. He was a member of one of the old families of the Confederate aristocracy in Georgia. He was the first President elected since the war of States who had no contemporary association with that war. He was popular, powerful, a war hero. Of course, in those days the white population of the South was far from voting the national Republican ticket, and Roosevelt's defiant gestures in favor of equality for negroes were personal and sensational. Yet had he said in March, 1905, what Mr. Hoover said in March, 1929, he would have taken no political risk for his party, and the defection from Democracy of North Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee, at least, might not so long have been postponed. For President Hoover merely announced that patronage broking and unfit recommendations for appointment must stop in the States of South Carolina, Mississippi and Georgia.

The Roosevelt Administration, however, did not seem concerned with much more than holding Southern delegates for administration purposes, and in the nomination of

William H. Taft these delegates were successfully marshaled. Four years later the Taft managers turned them against Colonel Roosevelt himself, and his interest in Southern delegate reform became active and vocal. They have been the Hessians of Republican politics, but—unlike the Hessians under Colonel Rall at Trenton in 1776—they have an unerring instinct for the right place to land. In 1908 and 1912 the name of their Colonel was Frank H. Hitchcock. He was the Postmaster General with the offices to bestow. By 1920, however, Mr. Hitchcock already smelled strongly of lilies, and the Southern blocs could not be held firm for his candidate, General Wood, rushing headlong into the Harding camp when victory was seen to lie in that direction.

Some of Mr. Hoover's managers did not hesitate to deal most practically with these mercenaries while preparing for the Kansas City convention. And visitors to that gathering will not forget the jovial black face that popped up in the rear of the delegates' seats during a mere call to order, long before the nominating stage, and when asked by the chairman what he rose for, bellowed hungrily: "Hoo-vah!"

So through the period since the war of States, barring an act of the Taft régime to cut down Southern representation in the conventions, votes of delegates have been steadily exchanged for postoffices and the like; State referees, white or black, have put through appointments distasteful to the "quality" in the Southern towns; President Roosevelt himself forced at least two deeply protested appointees onto Southern communities; and not one Republican Chief Executive has said the simple words Mr. Hoover has just uttered. The more it is studied, the more of a mystery it seems until the propelling circumstances are considered.

Mr. Hoover has no monopoly on personal integrity. His predecessors, as a matter of principle, disliked as much as he the situation of their party in local politics in the South. Once or twice—and the incidents are at least two private diaries—a Republican President banged his fist on his desk and said: "I won't stand for any more of this." But they all pretty generally did. For they were invariably told by their political mentors, and particularly by the current shepherd of the Southern delegations which had assured their nominations:

The Republican Argument.

"The South will always be Democratic. The negroes have been loyal to us for fifty years. It is not their fault that they are as they are; the injustice of Southern community politics forces it. How else can they live? If we turn to the lily-whites not only will the Southern negroes leave our party, but the great black colonies in New York, Columbus, Indianapolis and Detroit will turn away, too. It means the loss of the election."

And that argument has usually been enough.

But Mr. Hoover was in an entirely different position. He could show the proof of the pudding. Author of a departmental order abolishing the segregation of blacks, he had yet carried five of the States of the Confederacy and swept the South-tinged border. The "Hoovercrats" in those States who had made his victories possible, stung by taunts, threatened with party excommunication, sneered at because no Southerner had been placed in the Cabinet, appealed for aid in carrying on their work. They did not, and they do not, promise that the Republican party, even under President Hoover, will win many local elections in the Southern States. But they do prophesy, if this incumbent runs again, that they can deliver some Southern States again provided appointments and organizations are made respectable. These same representations were made to Colonel Roosevelt, to Mr. Taft, to Mr. Harding and to Mr. Coolidge. But there was no electoral history to support them.

It is said by his close friends that, had Mr. Coolidge consented to take office again, he would have given the clean-up order himself. He had carried Kentucky easily and seen the near-South waver. There were plentiful evidences that prosperity was beginning to be associated in the South with that public policy of which he was the apostle. But the historical fact is that, for the reasons mentioned, the word did not come until not for the recent history of patronage. Mr. Hoover said it. And if he had

not carried Texas and Virginia would he have been more sure of Southern support for his position than were his predecessors?

The Turn Toward Smith.

When political destiny checked William G. McAdoo in the Madison Square Garden convention, the Hoover statement about Southern Republicanism began automatically to take form. For the elimination of McAdoo meant the rise of Smith; Democracy had no other leader. By a curious turn of fate the unescapable choice of the Democratic party in 1928 was a man burdened in the South by every handicap which prejudice and a different form of social culture could put upon his back. The radio bawled his pronunciation into the living rooms of everybody in the country. In some communities that meant thousands of votes; in the South it aided toward the various State defections. Those defections persuaded Mr. Hoover that the bold course in the South with respect to patronage was the right course; his predecessors could never feel sure.

The modus operandi as announced is highly practical. The Postmaster General, Mr. Brown; one of the President's secretaries, Mr. Newton; and the attorney of the National Committee, Mr. Burke, are to serve as the Southern patronage board. They will work with advisory committees, inspect applicants and leaders and seek generally to arrange that desirable persons shall occupy the offices at the disposal of the Administration. To Congress and to the President this board will look for the enactment of those measures and the creation of that prosperity which shall win to the Republican banner Southerners who neither look for office nor care what local Republican is appointed. The triumvirate is in charge of the supplies of the boys in the trenches, the ruder but more numerous forces which must do the organization work for election days. Unless a Southern Republican leader can satisfy these three that he is the sort of man the Hoovercrats would follow, his word will be hollow and his recommendations blank.

The triumvirate is distinguished in its general lack of knowledge of persons and conditions in the South. But Postmaster General Brown is a quick learner, and in the pre-convention Hoover campaign he showed himself a very practical man, indeed, in dealing with Southern delegates. C. Bascom Sless, once secretary to President Coolidge, would have been an ideal triumvir were it not for the recent history of patronage broking in Virginia. But un-

questionably the referees will in camera have the benefit of his experience and skill.

The President's Plan.

The Washington dispatches relate that the President hopes to crystallize his Southern victories by assuring: (1) that henceforth the predilection of these States will not be taken for granted by any campaign manager; (2) that the number of Republican Congressmen will increase in that region. It is not said that he looks for local successes for his party. In that particular he is wise. The time may come when a Democratic candidate for Sheriff in Vermont may have a chance of election equal to that of his Republican opponent, and, reversing the labels, that time may also come in Mississippi. But to make the Southern Republican party lily-white—and that is the natural conclusion to be drawn from the President's statement—will not solve the negro question, socially or politically. Respectable appointments will make it easier for the white population to vote Republican in national elections, especially when they find such provocation to their prejudices as the last Democratic candidate suggested. But in the neighborhood government the Democratic label will represent social protection for as far ahead as contemporary eyes can see.

Some hasty analysts have mused in print whether the President's notice to his Southern organizations will send the negroes into the Democratic party. That also is not soon to be expected. They will not be granted suffrage by the Far South on such a hope; they will not be permitted to serve as delegates to Democratic national conventions; they not only are not needed by the Democrats, but their fidelity to the Republican party in those States is one of Democracy's few assets. When the South adopted prohibition as its leading tenet most of the principles for which the Confederacy had fought and the Tilden-Cleveland-Wilson régimes contended were by that act abandoned. The Democratic party must continue to assure white supremacy in the South and the form of order preferred by these communities to hold its position at all. The President cannot drive the negroes from his party by proscribing their disreputable leaders and cutting down their divvy of Federal patronage. The negroes have nowhere else to go.

A Case in Point.

Perhaps an illustration of why local elections go Democratic in the South may be supplied by a childhood memory. In Southern Ken-

tucky, years ago, a negro youth attached himself as "body servant" and cherished companion to the author of these lines. His parents, strong in the classical tradition of nomenclature, had nominated him "Virgil." He was of the ethnic species known as a "blue-gum"—not that his gums were blue, but that he was most at home in a swamp. Cheerfully, eagerly he performed all labors; he bore with solemn pride the persecutions of the dominant juveniles. If archery was the fashion, Virgil was often used as target. He drew the cart when the pony was in an ugly humor. All the tasks of the humble were his, but for reward he had the companionship of the lofty spirits whom he attended and the right—sole among the negro boys—to swim in that sacred pool of South Fork Creek which ran through his tyrant's plantation. In several years Virgil was never known to express a thought which dealt, even faintly, with matters spiritual or temporal. Nor could persuasions, either birchen or religious, induce him to darken—oh, so literally—the doors of the rude schoolhouse of his ilk.

Some years later his "master" of childhood days returned to the town and asked for Virgil. There was pointed out to him, in rusty silk hat, in clerical clothes—their effect somewhat stunningly altered by a flaming red neckerchief—a dusky orator haranguing a grinning group of his fellows behind a grocery store. He told them they were for Fairbanks, not for Taft, and they assented. His features, even the voice which from infancy had seemed to come from a swallowed bassoon, were unmistakable. It was Virgil. But he had been "called," he adorned a pulpit of Torquemadan orthodoxy, and he was to be chosen delegate to the Republican National Convention.

Blklyn. EAGLE

APR 26 1929

No Hoovercrat should make himself ridiculous by displaying needlessly his contempt for the Negroes. The race is useful to Republicans in doubtful Northern States. The North Carolina Representative who wouldn't occupy a room in the House office building because it was next door to that of Oscar De Priest of Illinois was clearly guilty of political indiscretion.

CITIZEN
KEY WEST, FLA.

APR 10 1929

President Hoover's intention to reform state party organizations has been made clear recently. Some days ago he summoned New York republican leaders to dine and confer on patronage questions and harmonizing tactics. Last week he began cleaning house in the south by a practical repudiation of the existing republican organizations in Mississippi, South Carolina and Georgia. He has determined that the negro leaders in southern states shall be deprived of their powers, patronage and otherwise, that negroes shall not be appointed to federal office save where negro communities are to be served. In order to make no racial distinctions, however, there will be corresponding negro appointments in other parts of the country.

Political-1929

Republican

Party Affiliation

• The Republican Party in "The South"

President Hoover has announced a definite change of policy by the republican party in the Southern states, the object of which is to win the so-called "best citizens" and the "highest type of citizenship" to insure victory over the democratic party in future elections in this part of the country. This is an open challenge to Southern labor, white and black.

Hoover wants to hold the victory of his party in the last elections in this democratic stronghold. He intends to do this, very evidently, by having the republican party turn its back completely on the Negro in the South, thus hoping to win over sufficient white bourgeois elements from the democratic ranks to make the G. O. P. as purely a white man's party as is the democratic organization.

Hoover announces his party's change in policy by demanding that "respectable committeemen" must be appointed to handle patronage matters. Selection of postmasters, first second and third class, especially. For "the welfare of the nation," sectional lines must be broken down, and the two party system established in the South, says Hoover. This is the usual capitalist political piffle, under cover of which new anti-labor campaigns are prepared.

Corruption in its worst forms exists under the republican and democratic parties alike. Under the republican regime in Pennsylvania and Illinois, in the republican north, the debauching of the electorate went to such extremes that two United States senators elected to office were refused seats as a result of the public scandal resulting.

The two capitalist party organizations corrode everything they touch. When Hoover points his finger at the republican party organizations in South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi, and tries to indict Negro national committeemen in these states for existing party evils, he is merely looking for scapegoats to cover up the real purpose his party reorganization plan has in view.

Perry Howard, a Negro, for many years republican national committeeman from Mississippi, is now awaiting trial in connection with some of the patronage evils that Hoover piously pretends to resent. The alleged crimes, however, charged against Howard could be registered against every national committeeman in both the old parties. Distributing patronage, "where it will do the most good," is one of the recognized and accepted old party methods of buying votes.

The republican organization is headed in South Carolina by Joseph T. Tolbert, a Negro, for many years national committeeman, while Ben Davis, also a Negro, formerly head of the organization in Georgia, saw his services abruptly terminated at Kansas City, last June, in the evolution toward a "lily-white" republican party.

The republican party will get its main strength in the South out of the new industrial plutocracy and the petty bourgeois elements dependent upon it. Strikes in Tennessee North and South Carolina, indicate the increasing radicalization of the workers. Republicans and democrats alike issue injunctions, order out the police and troops, and use every other possible method to crush the economic struggles of the workers. The republican party, no less than the democratic party, will support the disfranchisement of both Negro and white workers and poor farmers in the South, through the usual, long accepted methods.

Under the camouflaged fine phrases of the best president Wall Street ever had, one can easily see Hoover artfully seeking to transplant the labor-crushing republican regime of an old industrial tyranny, like Pennsylvania, to the newly industrialized South. Both white and Negro workers will be educated to understand this through bitter daily struggles. Negro workers and poor farmers, over the entire nation, will learn through this experience that the republican party, as much as the party of slavery, the democratic party, is their class enemy, and that they are the victims of its class rule.

Build the Communist Party to win all power for labor in the South and throughout the nation.

Pittsburgh 'TIS AN ILL WIND
Coward

AN editorial correspondent of the New York Times in Texas reports that down in the Lone Star State the regular Democrats are saying with a chuckle:

"The last Legislature changed our election law to exclude niggers."

"This one will change it to exclude Hoovercrats."

They are referring to the Bolter bill, which has passed the legislature and is now awaiting the signature or veto of Governor Dan Moody. This bill provides for the exclusion from the ranks of the Democratic party in Texas of all Democrats who turned their backs on Al Smith last November and cast their ballots for Herbert Clark Hoover. It is said that over 250,000 regular Democrats temporarily went over to the G. O. P. in the last election, thus putting the state in the Republican column. For this unforgivable sin they are to be prevented from participating in all future Democratic primaries. If Governor Moody signs the Bolter bill these white Hoovercrats will be in practically the same boat as their black brethren who, it will be remembered, have been effectively ousted from the Democratic party down there, despite the decision of the United States Supreme court.

Well, 'tis an ill wind that blows no good. The curse of the South and the principal reason why Negroes have been unable to function politically in that backward region, has been the one-party system. Just as long as the Republican party in Dixie consisted mainly of a few thousand Negroes and a few hundred white office seekers, there was little hope of breaking the politically and cranially Solid South. The only hope for a change lay in the change of allegiance of a large block of white voters. This happened in the last national election, but it is generally recog-

Natches, Miss., Democrat
Friday, March 23, 1929

The question of two political parties in the south simply means the bringing of the negro prominently back into politics. With two strong parties in the state, each will use their efforts to enroll the negro under their banner simply for his voting strength. There can never and will never be an all white Republican party in the south. It is one of those things which simply can't be. All of this turmoil over the alleged sale of one or two fifteen-cent postoffices, in the face of the enormous graft and corruption in high official circles, and which have been glossed over, is the verriest piffle.

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With their usual insight into things, the Texas Democratic politicians have apparently decided that the November defection from their party is permanent and are now determined on a course that will keep it so. Since the primaries in Texas and her sister states are the real elections, those 250,000 whites who jumped on the Hoover bandwagon will be forced to become Republicans permanently if they desire to function politically in the future. They have a very strong leadership from the big cities such as Dallas, San Antonio and Houston and, if ousted, they will be powerful enough to make things very interesting for the regular Democrats. With two active and numerically important political parties in the Lone Star State, the chances for a political reformation is greatly enhanced. Consequently it is fervently hoped that Governor Dan Moody will sign the bill, and thus create by Legislative action a real Republican party in Texas.

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Trumbull 'TIS ALL THE WIND
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Laurel, Miss., Leader
Thursday, March 28, 1920
Sick of It

The announcement by President Hoover that a housecleaning would take place in the Republican party in Mississippi and that party would have white leadership in the future, should gradually bring about one thing at least—less talk of the race question.

The average member of the public here, be he Republican or Democrat, is about fed up on the question of the negro in politics. We did think that the question would be dropped after the presidential election was over. For the most part, it has been, by general consent, but a few demagogues know that it is a good weapon with which to draw blood—it is a never-failing means of getting some people in a heated discussion. So, in order that a heated discussion may keep the country in a stir to the end of time, they talk the negro question.

The negroes, in the meanwhile, in this part of the country (and that is what we are interested in) take no part in the discussion, one way or another. For the most part, the matter of the franchise is a minor question to them—one they philosophically relegate to the next generation to settle. They attend to the business of their every-day existence, and are good citizens, for the most part. At least they are trying to be a worthy people, as a race.

We feel sure that the good negroes we know are heartily ashamed of Perry Howard and his messy patronage business. But they will be glad when "Perry" is settled, one way or another, and the question of the negro in Mississippi politics is allowed to rest. They realize that the negro is not very much in Mississippi politics anyhow, and will not be any time soon. They do not care, either, we are firmly convinced, but would like the question to die down, so that the thousands of negroes who never had an idea of politics in their heads, and who never will have it there, can pick up a newspaper without reading about one or two leaders in Mississippi who have been the spokesmen for a whole race—without their consent.

We might add, as a postscript, that the negroes are not any more disgusted with reading about Perry Howard than are we white folks.

HOOVER PRESS STRAWS

To be sure, after the President's lofty moralizing as to his Southern party policy, all the idealism being based solely in the matter of fitness for jobs, a rather old political point for intense ethicalism, there followed in some newspapers a denial that the president's concern for the "highest type" of Southern citizens and for local states rights meant excluding colored citizens from jobs. On the other hand Southern dailies were jubilant prefacing the presidential statement of their front pages like the following from the Baltimore Sun:—

"President Hoover took a long step today toward making the Republican party in the South white, respectable and effective.

"In effect, he repudiated the organization in three States, set up the patronage committee system in others

and warned all of them that old-time political situation in three Southern states. Repatronage 'abuses' must cease.

"A few hours later Postmaster-General Walter F. Brown, in whose service he is, will rejoice if he is successful.

President Hoover in his Elizabethton speech during the campaign, expressed his belief that appointive offices must be filled by those who deserve the confidence and respect of the communities they serve." His decision to repudiate the irresponsible Republican political leadership in three Southern states indicates a determination to live up to that faith.

"This means that Perry Howard, Negro National Committeeman for Mississippi; Joe Talbott, veteran committeeman from South Carolina, and Ben Davis, former Negro committeeman and organization head in Georgia, are on the Administration black list, as far as patronage is concerned.

In the same sense, Mrs. Mary C. Booze, Negro National Committeewoman of Mississippi, is out in the cold. Already Walter Cohen, of Louisiana, and 'Gooseneck Bill' McDonald, of Texas, two other Negro leaders in the South, have been ditched, politically. What will happen to Bob Church, of Tennessee, the remaining Negro politician of note in the South, is not so clearly indicated."

The Guardian would point out that color disfranchisement is the chief reform needed in the South even from a Republican party viewpoint, and this President Hoover is silent on

MOVE IN RIGHT DIRECTION

Abuses of Federal patronage had become so notorious and so obnoxious in the three Southern states of South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi that President Hoover was bound to take steps to check them. It was only a question of when he should begin. He started none too soon. Indeed, it would have been better if he had begun a year ago when Rush Holland was rounding up for him Southern Negro delegates including Perry Howard and Mary Booze, the Mississippi Negro leaders, who are now repudiated.

It was a sad spectacle, too, at Kansas City when irresponsible Southern Negro delegates from Mississippi, from Georgia, from whatever State they could be rounded up, were seated to cast their votes for Hoover. It was not a new spectacle. It was in line with the common practice, but Mr. Hoover did not take steps to stop it, or even to check it. It would have been better, if he had acted then, but it is better late than never.

The intelligent and enlightened citizens of the South welcome this manifestation of a desire to name responsible Federal officers of every kind in every State in the South. All lovers of orderly government everywhere will applaud the President's decision in his administration to take steps to clean up an intolerable

Bob Church Forces Colonel Horace A. Mann to Resign

Washington, March 15.—Robert R. Church, G. O. P. leader in Tennessee, credited with controlling votes in eight Midwestern states, announced recently that he would devote his life to squelching Col. Horace A. Mann and his attempt to make the Republican party lily-white in the South. Mann resigned his position Saturday as southern manager for the Republican national organization. There has been attached much significance to the call of Church at the White House Saturday shortly before Mann's resignation was made known to the press.

Church was also received at the White House by former President Coolidge a week before the national election last November when there seemed to have been rebellion within the G. O. P. ranks over the southerners and their lily-white policies for the party after election. Influential party leaders have been able to snub Colonel Mann several times, but they never have been able to afford slighting the Tennessee field marshal.

Mann Loses Fight

Mann, before resigning lost his fight to act as patronage referee for the South as a whole, leaving the field clear for separate organizations in each state. From behind closed doors of the closing meeting of national committeemen and committeewomen Wednesday came word that an attempt of Mann to claim sole credit for the southern G. O. P. victory was a complete freezeway for the self-styled "mystery man of the November campaign," who got nothing but rebuffs from Hoover in Florida shortly before the inauguration.

The national committee also found itself powerless to unseat Perry W. Howard as national committeeman in Mississippi. Howard was acquitted by jury of charges of bartering post-office appointments in his state. Although forced out of an influential justice department position when the charges were first brought against him, the legal acquittal leaves no basis for ouster proceedings.

The committee took no action toward replacing Ben Davis, who was

forced out as national committeeman in Georgia as a result of exposures of alleged wholesale patronage abuses in that state. President Herbert Hoover does not contemplate making extensive changes in the personnel of the executive branch of the government, he declared last Friday.

Few Changes Made

This statement is interpreted to mean that it is not likely there will be any changes in the offices held by William T. Francis, minister to Liberia; Arthur G. Froe, recorder of deeds of the District of Columbia; Judge James A. Cobb of the municipal court of the District of Columbia; Charles W. Anderson, collector of internal revenue in New York, and Walter L. Cohen, comptroller of customs at New Orleans, La.

In reply to a question from the press as to whether extensive changes are intended in the personnel of the government, the president said that there were comparatively few changes contemplated. He proposes to adhere to the principle of retaining as many as possible of those public servants who have given honest and zealous service.

"Out of several hundred such officials," he stated, "there are probably not more than 20 or 30 changes likely to be made at the present time. Some of these are the result of the determination of the incumbents that they have given sufficient of their time to public life. Some changes will be the result of promotion and shifts from one position in the government to another.

"There are some 820,000 people on the federal pay roll. It will be seen therefore that the number of changes contemplated do not offer an opportunity for the large recruiting of new personnel."

Political - 1929
Party Affiliation.

Republican.

NEGROES WILL RECEIVE FAVORABLE RECOGNITION IS DR. MORTON'S BELIEF AFTER WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

(By The Associated Negro Press)

Washington, D. C., May 20.—Dr. Robert R. Moton, Principal of Tuskegee Institute, was a caller at the White House last Thursday at the invitation of President Herbert Hoover. He spent three-quarters of an hour with the President and while no official announcement of the subject of their conversation was forthcoming from the executive officers of Dr. Moton, political circles here are vibrating rather expectantly. After his chat with the President, Dr. Moton conferred with Postmaster General Walter F. Brown.

Washington knows that a fine personal friendship exists between the chief executive and the Negro leader as well as that Dr. Moton enjoys the respect and confidence of the nation's head. It is likewise known that Dr. Moton's larger concern is for the improvement of the economic condition of his people, particularly as it affects the workers and farmers of the race, rather than an interest in appointive places.

However, when pressed for an opinion on the purely political outlook Dr. Moton said, "I have great hopes after talking with President Hoover, that the present administration is going to consider our group in a larger and finer way than has been true for many years."

"I believe that the President is determined to be fair and square in his treatment of us and oblivious to creed of color. It is my sanguine

opinion that we will receive greater recognition and be given fuller opportunity to serve our country's affairs in more responsible places than hitherto has ever been true."

"I am not worried about the so-called 'Lily-White' situation in the South. There ought to be on each of the patronage committees which are being set up in the various states one or more Negro representatives, and I am hopeful that this will be done."

Dr. Moton was accompanied on his visit to the White House by Fred R. Moore, editor of the New York Age. In the morning, Congressman Oscar De Priest called upon Dr. Moton and had a lengthy discussion relative to racial affairs. Later Mr. De Priest left Washington for Tuskegee Institute, which he is visiting for the first time.

A little while ago, when he himself was recognized by the Republican Chieftans of this country Benjamin Jefferson Davis, formerly national committeeman from Georgia, continually harped about "party regularity," he praised the Grand Old Party to the vaulted skies. He even sought to deify colorless Cal Coolidge and put a halo of righteousness around his New England head. He endorsed Coolidge for his second term before Mr. Coolidge had made a single gesture to the colored people. He closed his ears to helpful discussion and yelled out blatantly "dere ain't no nigger party fer de cullud man to be long to nohow." Davis is out of his position of affluence and influence and like Frankenstein has suffered by the monster he himself created. Now Mr. Davis has reversed his position and in Milwaukee week before last gave vent to utterance advising the colored people to split their ticket and vote for men and measures rather than parties. This writer has preached such a doctrine since he has been a qualified voter

and for taking this very same position he was ridiculed by Davis and stigmatized as not being a party regular. It strikes us that only those members of our race are "regulars" who are making personal gain out of such regularity. There has been little conscientious consideration given by them to the rights and interests of the entire race. We firmly believe that Davis, like the astute Vann of Pittsburg, would swallow every effrontery and insult, wink at every discriminatory policy and give a blanket endorsement to the hilarious Hoover administration if a job and a few bucks were in sight. This is what Congressman DePriest means by "hungry leadership."

of those states. The president declared:

First, that in Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina patronage abuses had been so great, especially in the postal service, that the administration had lost confidence in them. He suggests that the people of those states, without regard to color, attempt reorganization, and in the event they cannot initiate a better organization through the leadership of men who will command confidence and protect the public service, the different Federal departments will be compelled to adopt other methods to

President's Pronouncement on Southern Political Situation Causes Mild Alarm

Executive Voices Disapproval of White and Black Leaders in Several States — Two-Party System in South Needed, Is View

CHICAGO, April 1 (ANP).—Three influences are contributing to cause a mild state of alarm among Negroes since the announcement of the new policy of the Republican party in the South was made by President Herbert Hoover early in the week.

The first and most important of these influences is the interpretation put upon the President's utterance by a certain section of the white press. Writers in these newspapers have stated rather definitely that the intention of the President is to ultimately chase the Negro out of the Republican party.

The effect of such statements, supported by such evidence as these writers are able to assemble, is to bring into action the perpetual dread among Negro voters, South and North, of the building up of a so-called "Lily-white" Republican party in the South, which will exclude them from its councils.

The third influence grows out of whatever remaining power the Negro Republican leaders in the South still possess and may be wielded, either to justify their past policies or to embarrass the new ones of the administration.

No Need for Alarm.

The highlights of the Hoover statement, in which no reference to race or color was made, were that in a number of the Southern states the Republican party machinery was in need of reorganization by the people

secure advice as to the selection of Federal officials.

Second, that Republican leadership in Alabama, Arkansas, Texas and Florida has in recent times shown increasing strength and is now renderable and conscientious service in maintaining whole organization under whose advice the appointments to public office have steadily improved.

Third, that Republican leadership in the border states (Kentucky, Tennessee and Oklahoma) and in Virginia and North Carolina has long since built up vigorous party organization which assures Republican representation in the Congress from those states.

Church's Leadership Praised.

Thus the President expresses his disapproval of the Republican party management in South Carolina which has Joseph Tolbert, a white man, as its leader, and places the stamp of his approval on Tennessee, where Robert R. Church dominates the Republican political scene.

Negro political leaders seem a bit wary about expressing themselves at this point, although there seems to

be a rather well defined feeling that the Hoover manifesto, if it was not intended to erect additional political barriers in the Negro's path, will serve as the opening wedge in his more general enfranchisement in the South and to his enjoyment of a greater share of political benefits because of the value that he may be to either of two strong political parties.

The Associated Negro Press sent the following telegram to a number of Negro leaders:

Leaders Queried.

"Please send statement expressing your opinion of President Hoover's announcement regarding present Republican organizations in Mississippi, South Carolina and Georgia and other Southern states. Would appreciate your discussing possible effect on Negroes generally, but in South particularly."

The message was sent to Dr. Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute; Dr. John R. Hawkins, head of the colored voters' division during the recent campaign; Robert R. Church, Tennessee Republican leader; Perry W. Howard, Republican National Committeeman for Mississippi; Mrs. Mary Booze, Republican National Committeewoman for Mississippi; Mrs. Geo. S. Williams, Republican National Committeewoman from Georgia; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, editor of the Crisis.

Few Replies Received.

Three days later, and at the time this dispatch is being written, replies are still being awaited. One comes from Mrs. Mary Booze, and is as follows:

"I have read the President's statement carefully and cannot see in it any good reason for general alarm on the part of the Negro race, either in the South or elsewhere in the nation."

"The statement will naturally have a depressing effect upon the minds of most of the Negro leaders in the South until its real intent has had

time to bear fruit.

"While the action of the President will necessarily affect the prestige of a few race leaders, this will be more than offset by the exercise of the franchise of the masses if he succeeds in his undertaking.

"The President has undertaken a herculean task which many former Presidents have attempted and failed, but President Hoover is accustomed to tackling and solving difficult problems, so it will not surprise me if he succeeds in his undertaking to build up a militant Republican party in

every state in the South within the next four years.

"I have full faith in the President's sincerity of purpose, and I am going to give his proposal my full support and co-operation."

Mr. Church replied: "I do not care to make a statement just now."

Favor Two-Party System.

Congress-elect Oscar DePriest, who visited Little Rock, Ark., and spoke there during the week, thought that, above all, the Negro in the South should seize the opportunity to vote which the creation of a two-party system would offer and use his ballot to put his white friends into office if he cannot vote Negroes in.

Edward H. Wright, former Illinois commerce commissioner, was reluctant to express a criticism of the Hoover move, so long as the evidence of its color bias is so flimsy.

"Mr. Hoover said that he wished to give the Republican party in the South a respectable leadership which would have the confidence of the people," asserted Mr. Wright. "He did not say whether this leadership must be white or colored, and in Tennessee, where the leadership is colored, he approved the Republican program, whereas he repudiated the white leadership of South Carolina. However, I have always been against the leadership we have had in the South which, without controlling any votes, was enabled to exercise such a powerful influence in the party conventions."

MOTON VISITS THE PRESIDENT

We publish on the front page of this issue of The Eagle a story of the visit of Dr. R. R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee, to the White House to confer with President Hoover. Friends of Dr. Moton see in this visit, followed by the statement of Dr. Moton, that Mr. Hoover is going to mete out even handed consideration insofar as recognizing the brother is concerned.

Of course there has not been anything in the history of Mr. Hoover since he succeeded Mr. Coolidge that would justify such an optimistic opinion. It is fine of Dr. Moton to be so hopeful and we wish we could join him in such hope. We still feel dubious about Mr. Hoover's intention to give us such recognition as the loyalty of the Race, to the Republican party, deserves.

What is needed to make Mr. Hoover and the Republican leaders fully realize our worth is for more of us to break away from the party to which we have, heretofore, given such slavish

loyalty.

Mr. Hoover and his allies have built up a lilywhite Republican party in the south. Negro leaders in that section have been shorn of their power. Persistent efforts have been made to put Perry Howard in jail. Fortunately these efforts proved abortive but the lilywhite leadership is still in the saddle and will remain there until the voting Negroes in the north, in the next election, throw their votes to the Democratic candidates for congress and senate.

Republican Politician Robs Negro Tenants of "Higher Class" Harlem Apartments

Vermin-Infested Rooms, Dumbwaiters That Don't Work, High Rents

Note.—This is the third in a series of articles appearing exclusively in the Daily Worker exposing housing conditions in Harlem, where thousands of Negro workers live under the vilest conditions and are robbed by white landlords. The first two articles described conditions in East Harlem. The present article deals with West Harlem.

By SOL AUERBACH.

III.

E. A. JOHNSON, who ran for congress on the republican party ticket last November, owns a block of houses on the odd side of the 2300's on Seventh Avenue.

We will have to call the tenants living in the five-story tenements between 2323 and 2337, by letters X, Y, Z, because they have been so intimidated by the landlord that none of them would pose for pictures.

"The landlord will raise my rent if he recognizes me in that picture," said Mrs. X.

The specific picture we wished to get was one of Mrs. X bending

down and removing a whole wooden panel from the wall, to show the dilapidated condition of the walls. When we had asked her whether the landlord had made any improvements in the apartment recently she bent down and pulled the wall apart.

"He'd die before he would do anything here. If you will accept a \$10 raise then he'll do something."

This same republican politician, who makes a living by exploiting the Negro tenants to the limit, was full of promises to the Negro workers while campaigning in Harlem.

Mrs. X lives in a seven-room apartment in the old law tenement at 2337. An old law tenement is one built before the Tenement Law of 1901 went into effect. According to this law this row of houses should have been condemned long ago.

But that only shows the uselessness of laws passed by a capitalist legislature controlled by the landlords, the real estate men and others of that kind.

This row of houses is nothing but a fire-trap. There is an "excuse" for fire escapes, but no fire escapes. In the rear of the building there is an iron balcony for each floor, but there is no way of getting from one balcony to another since no steps connect them. In case of fire all the tenants would be trapped, for the main staircase in the hall is narrow, made of wood, and actually rotting.

To add to the danger, the floors are rotten and dried up, none of the rooms are fire-proof, and the walls are about ready to fall apart.

For seven rooms in this house Mrs. X pays \$52 per month. She has lived there for 10 years, which is probably an inducement for the landlord for he has not raised the rent recently as he threatened to do.

In order to be able to pay this rent, Mrs. X., who works as a servant

in some rich man's house, rents out most of her rooms to lodgers.

In these seven rooms there live at least 10 persons. Mrs. X. probably sleeps in the "parlor."

The only rooms which have access to the open air are the front and back rooms. The intervening rooms have small windows opening out on a narrow shaftway. The shaftway is only about a yard wide and you can step across from the window of one apartment to the room of the apartment next door.

Imagine all the air that can steal into these rooms, by hook or crook, thru a shaftway that runs the length of five stories. True, the law says that there must be adequate ventilation, and it also says that there must be adequate fire precautions, but that law is only a scrap of paper. The landlord is the real boss.

THERE is an "improvement" here over the tenement houses we took you to yesterday. This "improvement" is a dumbwaiter—a dumbwaiter which has not worked for years. We saw the dumbwaiter fastened at the top of the dumbwaiter shaft when we went up on the roof left there like so much junk. It costs too much to fix it, says the landlord.

The tenants are forced to throw their garbage down the dumbwaiter shaftway. You can hear it rustling and bumping its way down past the whole tier of apartments, soap spilling and cans rattling. By the end of the day it reaches above the second story.

As a result the house is smelly and infested with rats and other vermin—just the place for disease. No wonder there is such a high rate of infant mortality in Harlem and so many deaths from consumption.

Seventh Avenue is not a bad looking street, but no sooner do you enter the door of one of these tenement houses than you forget there is any such thing as sunshine and fresh air. It is dark and gloomy, disease-festering and intolerably uncomfortable.

Continued on II

Political - 1929

Party Affiliation

REPUBLICAN SOUTH EXPECTED OF HUSTON

National Committee Looks to
New Chief, to Be Chosen To-
day, to Remold Party.

1932 SET FOR COMPLETION

Chairman Will Pick Leaders
From Best Elements in Effort
to Win Over Democrats.

FACES TENNESSEE CONTEST

He Hopes Divided Opposition Will
Enable Him to Elect a Repub-
lican Senator.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 8.—The destinies of the Republican National Committee are on the eve of passing into the control of Claudius Huston of Tennessee and for the first time the party will be dominated by a man of the South determined to take advantage of the Democratic defections in the section and build up an organization that will commend itself to liberal Democrats who are favorable to some of the Republican policies.

This is believed by Republican leaders to be the most significant aspect of the change that will be approved when the National Committee will elect Mr. Huston to succeed Dr. Hubert Work, resigned.

The party chieftains say that Mr. Huston is familiar with the troubles that have beset the party in the South and has the ability to select leaders who will be acceptable to Democrats who wish to align themselves with the majority party and be part of State organizations.

South to Be National Concern.

The perfection of a Southern Republican organization, attempted since March 4 by Postmaster General

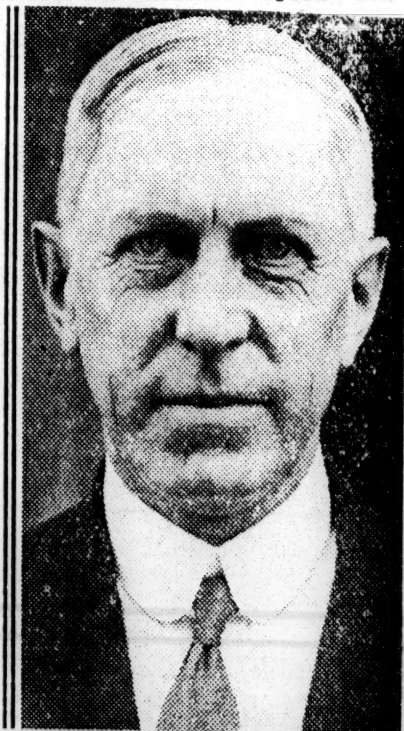
Brown, James F. Bukre, counselor appointed for the unexpired term, of the Republican National Committee, and Walter H. Newton, one of the secretaries to President Hoover, crats split over leadership and the will be assigned to Mr. Huston. It is wet and dry question, he may mark understood that the efforts of these the early days of his leadership by eaders, who have not been able to electing a Republican Senator from devote themselves thoroughly to the Tennessee.

problem, have not succeeded to the satisfaction of Republican Southern 'converts,' and have caused some annoyance to the administration.

In the future the problem will be made purely a national committee function. Mr. Huston is expected to compose the difficulties in the South, recognize the authority of the best elements to direct political affairs, and be responsible for patronage recommendations.

He will have four State problems to tackle almost immediately, in Florida, Georgia, South Carolina and Texas, with sore spots existing in many other Southern States that need correction.

In his adopted State, Tennessee, he must win over the Taylor faction and strengthen the organization for his first fight in the South. A successor to Senator Tyson will be



Associated Press Photo.

NEW G. O. P. LEADER.

Claudius H. Huston of Tennessee, who succeeds Dr. Hubert Work as Chairman of the Republican National Committee.

chosen for the short and long term. The Democratic party may enter the elections divided if Representative Hull opposes Senator W. E. Brock,

Aim to Organize South by 1932.

The national committee, working in cooperation with the Senatorial and Congressional committees, will begin the necessary preliminary work for the election of members of the House next year and one-third of the Senate. This election, in the opinion of politicians, will show the view of the electorate on tariff and farm relief legislation and thus test the Hoover Administration policies.

The committees will be so formed as to be prepared for all political developments and by 1932 it is hoped to have the Southern Republican machinery in perfect accord. It is estimated that two or three years will be required before the party organization in the South can be freed from Negro domination and discredited white leaders.

Harmony apparently is assured at the meeting tomorrow. The dispute over a national committeeman in Georgia and the troubles in Florida will not be presented to the committee since these matters are before the executive committee which is not ready to report.

Committeemen Greet Huston.

As most of the leaders arrived to day and called upon Mr. Huston in his headquarters in the Hotel Willard, they expressed satisfaction over the proposed reorganization of the committee and the assurance given to them by Mr. Huston that he would devote himself without interruption to his duties as chairman.

All of the Old Guard are here tonight, and the lobbies of their hotels look like a scene before the opening of a Republican convention. Almost universally they say that little interest exists among the people as to tariff legislation and that little is heard of it except in the minority attacks.

After the election of a National Chairman and the filling of several vacancies, the Committee, which will meet at 10 o'clock, will adjourn to be the guests of Coleman du Pont at a buffet luncheon. Following this the Committee will march to the White House to be received by the President and Mrs. Hoover in the East Room.

John R. Nutt, Treasurer of the Republican National Committee will give a dinner tomorrow night in honor of the retiring chairman. Among those who will be present are Chairman Huston, Vice President Curtis, and members of the Cabinet.

Election of Huston To Bring New Patronage Deal Throughout South

Independent

By Gladstone Williams

Washington, September 12.—Another shake-up in Republican organization activities in Georgia and other southern states is scheduled to follow the election today of Claudius H. Huston, of Tennessee, first southerner in 72 years as chairman of the Republican national committee, succeeding Dr. Hubert Work, resigned.

After the committee had met and unanimously elected Mr. Huston, a former assistant secretary of commerce under Herbert Hoover, it was learned on unquestioned authority that Mr. Huston has patched up his disagreement with Colonel Horace A. Mann, manager of the pre-election campaign in the South, with reports that the latter is to be restored completely to his former position of control over southern Republican organization affairs.

Colonel Mann, it is asserted, will soon take over an office at headquarters of the Republican national committee here and direct a new program for expanding Republican activities in the south. His office, it is declared, will supplant the unofficial patronage committee appointed by President Hoover to deal with southern problems and consisting of Postmaster-General Walter F. Brown, Walter Newton, secretary to the president, and James Francis Burke, general counsel to the Republican national committee.

On the surface the new arrangement, not yet officially announced, has the appearance of a complete victory for Colonel Mann in his conflict with Postmaster-General Brown over control of southern patronage and organization matters. It is doubtful, however, whether

his assumption of the new office will be followed by outright repudiation of the so-called patronage committees already set up and functioning in Georgia and other southern states under direction of the postmaster-general.

Rather it is expected that some adjustment would be made of the differences between the various factions represented in the so-called Brown and Mann patronage committees.

Just how Georgia will be affected by the new scheme remains to be seen. At first blush the best guess would seem to be that the present advisory committee established by Mr. Brown and headed by Lindsey Hopkins, of Atlanta, with which Collector of Internal Revenue J. T. Rose is closely identified, will be revised to make room for at least an equal number of Mann adherents.

In the event the patronage committee arrangement is maintained in Georgia, expectations are that the first addition will be H. G. Hastings, of Atlanta, manager of the regular Republican campaign in Georgia last fall and a close friend of Colonel Mann. Mr. Hastings was chairman of the original committee appointed by the former southern campaign manager to deal with patronage matters in the state. He later headed a delegation of Mann followers which came to Washington in the spring to protest against the Brown committee named in place of the original body.

At the time the delegation was here Mr. Hastings and his associates, including Barry Wright, of Rome, left the White House after a 45-minute conference with the president feeling confident that some satisfactory solution of the conflict would be worked out.

Brown, however, th
committee has functioned with ap
parent administration authority

G. O. P. Casts Bait For South's Vote

Washington, D. C.—Elimination of the Negro from party leadership and increased representation in Republican national conventions are the bait being offered to the South in an effort to hold Republican gains in Southern states in 1928 for the next Presidential election.

Under this scheme, colored Republicans, who are titularly party leaders in their respective states, will be displaced by a lily-white leadership.

Three States Affected

There are only three states in which this plan needs to be put into effect. They are Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Incidentally, none of these three states will be given an increased representation in the next Republican national convention.

The Republican bosses have long wanted white leadership in Georgia. They were thwarted in their desire by the late Henry Lincoln Johnson, Benjamin Jefferson Davis, of Atlanta, succeeded Mr. Johnson as a member of the Republican national committee, and dominated the party until he was forced to abdicate to prevent a prosecution of himself similar to that of Perry W. Howard in Mississippi.

Vacancy Still Exists

The vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. Davis from the Republican national committee has not been filled. A white man is slated to succeed him. But Mrs. George S. Williams is the national committeewoman for Georgia. She has become restive under continuous harping in patronage matters. She has never been allowed to make recommendations for Federal offices in her State. There is no taint of corruption on her. The administration can give no reason for not imposing confidence in her.

There lies a delicate situation. Mrs. Williams is colored, and it is not in the Republican scheme of politics in the South where patronage committees have been set up that any colored person should be a member of such committee. It is repugnant to white office seekers to have to ask a colored man or woman for a Federal job, the administration has been told, and to obviate such a situation and make the Republican party respectable for Hoovercrats the Negro must be eliminated from party leadership.

Howard Titular Head

In Mississippi the situation is not so difficult. Perry W. Howard remains the titular head of the party. He is the Republican national committeeman. Mrs. Mary C. Booze is the Republican national committeewoman. But as far as the patronage duties of the office are concerned, Lamont Rowlands, white, who unsuccessfully sought to dethrone Howard in the Republican primaries and conventions in Mississippi as well as the courts and at the

Republican national convention, has been made the active head of Republican affairs in that State.

Howard is a wily politician. He will play politics with the very men who have set up Rowlands in Mississippi and with Rowlands himself if it becomes necessary, and it is not too much to expect that he will attempt a coup to regain power.

In South Carolina the only question is the riddance of old man Joe Tolbert, the Republican national committeeman, who has a "black and tan" following and has brought mixed delegations to Republican national conventions. The Hoover edict for reformation of the party and the setting up of a patronage committee in that State ended his power, but he still holds on to his membership on the Republican national committee from which he cannot be ousted unwillingly before the national convention in 1932.

Horace Mann, the chief advocate of white leadership of the Republican party in southern states, will be recalled to the service of the party under the reorganization plans of Claudius H. Huston, the new chairman of the Republican national committee. Robert R. Church, of Memphis, Tenn., was credited with forcing Mann to quit his activities.

Mann's Return Likely

The return of Mann to the party's councils, is expected to arouse antagonisms within the party. Postmaster General Walter F. Brown does not believe that the South will remain permanently Republican. He thinks it should be regarded as a section of the country sure to provide delegates for a President seeking renomination.

The Huston-Mann view is that certain southern states can be held within the Republican fold. They believe that white leadership, together with rapid industrialization of states like Virginia, North Carolina, Texas, and Florida, will tend to make them Republican.

Mann's proposal for a "lily-white" reformation of the Republican party in the South was rejected by Dr. Hubert Work and his associates on the national committee shortly after March 4. His suggestions did not find favor with national committeemen from northern and middle western states where the colored vote is a factor.

Predicts Delegate Increase

According to Mr. Huston, the South by its increased vote will gain from 53 to 100 delegates in the next convention. "The number may reach the latter figure," he is quoted as having said, "if the basis of representation is made upon the new reapportionment of Congress. If not, the increased delegates from the South will probably be 53."

The rules of the Republican party provide that the delegates to the national convention shall be apportioned

as follows: Two for each senatorial district for each Congressman and an additional delegate in each Congressional district casting 10,000 Republican votes in the last national election, as well as three delegates-at-large for each State that went Republican.

Under that rule, based on the last election, delegates from the South in the next convention, would be as follows: Alabama, 21, an increase of 6; Florida, 14, an increase of 4; North Carolina, 26, an increase of 6; Oklahoma, 23, an increase of 3; Tennessee, 26, an increase of 7; Texas, 42, an increase of 16; Virginia, 26, an increase of 11. There would be no increases in the delegates from Arkansas, 11; Georgia, 12 and South Carolina, 11.

NEW YORK TIMES

OCT 27 1928

RACIAL ISSUE FAILS TO AROUSE ALABAMA

Belated Discovery of De Priest Visit to Tuskegee Occasions Rather Mild Interest.

STATE ALL FOR BUSINESS

Promise of Industrial Leadership of More Importance Even Than Politics.

By JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES SD.

Editorial Correspondence of THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BIRMINGHAM, Oct. 23.—Discovery this week of the name of Oscar De Priest, negro Congressman from Illinois, on the visitors' registration book for last May at Tuskegee Institute has induced more or less speculation concerning the circumstances which attended this invasion of the deep South by the Illinois Representative and its modest lack of press-agentry. President Moton of Tuskegee has the respect of all elements in this section for the manner and character of his work at the famous negro institution of learning. Such local interest as was aroused was in what, if any, extent the antithesis in the manner and method of the member from Illinois was exposed or discussed at this visit.

Opinion of De Priest in this part of the country is far from hospitable, and it is not likely that he could come here publicly without exposure to hostility. On the other hand, the

desire that this section should not be placed in the position of denying any man a forum would probably induce determined efforts to prevent possible disorder.

A political angle to these efforts would, no doubt, be contributed by opponents of Senator Heflin, who would not relish the prospect of an incident which might enable the Senator to make further political capital among his particular clientele out of his already well-advertised antagonism to De Priest. Taking one consideration with another, it is probably best for all parties, saving only Senator Heflin's, that the mysterious visit was made without fanfare.

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Alabama Economics.

But Alabama's picture of itself these days is considerably more economic than political or racial. The recent city election in Birmingham, which easily returned the three incumbent commissioners to office against a field of eight candidates, was eloquent of this in the small public interest shown even when the opposition raised the racial issue in a charge of administration favoritism to negroes over whites in certain public works. Incidentally, this election was illustrative, too, of the fact that voters in these parts have none of the temperamentality which demands a change merely for its own sake. As long as an officeholder does nothing wrong he can generally count on holding office indefinitely, it would seem.

The industrial premiership which Alabama feels sure is promised it discourages more and more its one-time divisions and discords. The promise is too persuasive and too pervasive also, since industrial leadership in this State is widely associating its success with labor as well as capital, black as well as white, farm as well as factory. Coordination and integration are familiar and popular words here now.

In spite of its large industrial development, this is still an agricultural State. About 80 per cent of its population is on farms or in towns of less than 2,500 residents. There is undoubtedly a large surplus of farm population, and farming has not been a prosperous business at all in recent years. In the period from 1925 to 1928, according to Department of Agriculture figures, the average annual farm income per capita in Alabama ranged between \$232 and \$267. The growth of industry, which has been stimulated by the availability of labor from this surplus farm population, promises in its turn a twofold relief for the farm situation—first, by drawing off the burdensome surplus, and second by creating new and adjacent markets for Alabama farm products.

..

Cooperative Efforts Extended.

This is the situation which makes the word "integration" popular in Alabama today—the "integration" of industry with agriculture. On Oct. 18 Governor Graves presided at a conference which he subsequently

described as one of the most important events in his administration. The occasion was the first joint meeting of the State Board of Agriculture with the State Industrial Development Board, twin bodies of the Department of Agriculture and Industry.

At this meeting a well-laid scheme for the fellowship of factory and field in Alabama was elaborated and detailed. With the cooperation of industrial leaders and farmer organizations, under chaperonage of the State, the channels of supply and demand are to be cleared and straightened for a more complete consumption of Alabama farm products in the growing Alabama industrial communities. In Gadsden alone, for example, the new Goodyear tire and reclamation plants are expected to employ eventually some 10,000 persons. That these and other increments to the number and purchasing power of the State's industrial communities shall be able and willing to take most of their foodstuffs from Alabama farms, with mutual benefit to all concerned, is a condition which the two boards hope to attain not only through buy-at-home propaganda but also through a greater diversification of farm crops and a constant improvement in local transportation facilities and market intelligence services.

The membership of the State Industrial Development Board is eloquent of the degree to which private industrial leadership in Alabama permits itself to be drafted these days or public economic service. It includes the president of the State's greatest iron and steel company, the president of one of the biggest chemical companies, the president of the dominant electric power company, a leading textile manufacturer and an important cement producer. Created in 1927 to discover and develop the industrial possibilities of the State, the board talks as often of balancing agriculture and industry in Alabama as of industrial integration from raw materials to a constantly increasing number of finished or related products.

Political—1929
Party Affiliation.
TIMES-STAR
CINCINNATI, O.

OCT 28 1929

Drama and Humor at Political Meeting

Gathering in Behalf of Negro
Candidates for Council Was
Striking Event.

Drama, emotion, native Negro humor and the singing of spirituals marked the mass meeting Sunday afternoon in Emery Auditorium, at which Oscar de Priest of Chicago, only Negro congressman, spoke. An audience that filled the Auditorium before the meeting began caused police to close doors to several hundred men and women.

A dramatic touch, one of several, came when Shirley Hawkins sang a spiritual, "Go Down, Moses." As he was singing the last verse he turned to Congressman de Priest and sang direct to him, at the same time extending his hand. The inference was obvious and struck the huge audience with the force of a sudden climax, causing tense emotion that was relieved only when more than two thousand men and women broke into cheers for "their new Moses."

The talks by De Priest and A. Lee Beaty, who presided, were marked by numerous humorous references to phrases, evoking outbursts of laughter such as seldom are heard at any political meeting.

A. Lee Beaty, in opening the meeting, pointed out that both major parties, the Charter Committee and the Republicans, had granted recognition on their tickets to every other group but the Negroes. He said that they had nominated a Catholic, a Protestant, a Jew, an Irishman, a German and a labor man, but had not placed a Negro upon their tickets.

The Negroes, he said, constitute one-ninth of the population of Cincinnati and cast one-fourth of the Republican vote and are entitled to recognition as well as any other group. "They will accept our votes and our taxes, but won't give us representation in Council, which determines the taxes," he said. "So the

only way we can get representation is by electing one of our race to Council."

NEED OF HARMONY

He said that this was the first time that the Negroes have ever gotten together. He congratulated them on realizing the need for harmony. He said that both of their candidates, George W. B. Conrad and Frank A. B. Hall, were intelligent men, worthy of being elected to Council.

In introducing the candidates, Beaty said that Conrad was a lawyer, employed for twenty-seven years in the legal department of the Pennsylvania Railroad and was in every way qualified to represent his race in Council. Conrad said that he was in favor of good government and of bettering the condition of his people, and, if elected, would serve the city in a manner that would be a credit to his race, as well as to its benefit and the benefit of the people in general.

"Hall is not a lawyer," said Beaty, but he was a detective for thirty years, and often made lawyers look like 30 cents by his knowledge of the law." Like Conrad, Hall was greeted with cheers.

Hall said that this was his second attempt to be elected to Council and "I know that I am going to be elected this time," he added. He said the Negroes had been throwing away their votes for years, but now they can make them count by voting for candidates of their own race and thus really help themselves. He declared that the presence of De Priest, a Negro, in Congress, makes the Negroes better respected in the United States and if there should be a Negro in Council, the Negroes of Cincinnati would be more respected. Herbert S. Bigelow spoke briefly, and was vociferously applauded. Then Shirley Hawkins, Negro spiritual singer, sang "Go Down Moses."

SPEECH OF DE PRIEST

"You haven't received much political recognition because you haven't fought for it," De Priest declared. "I would not have come to Cincinnati unless I was sure you were all together. Politicians will only do for you what they have to do. The Democrats will do nothing for you, the Republicans will do something for you."

Republican.

But once in awhile you have to chase those you love the most.

"I received two warnings to stay away from Cincinnati. The first said that Nicholas Longworth might not like it. Mr. Longworth is one of the greatest men in the country. He is fair and impartial. I doubt if he cares whether I come here or not. The Negro that sent me the warning was inspired by someone else. I'm not going to tell you his name."

"Then I received a telegram which said 'you might hurt the Republican party.' Well, we hate to fight to get recognition in the Republican party."

De Priest described his fight to be elected congressman. He said he recommended the "blackest boy he could" for West Point, because he desired everyone to know the cadet was a Negro. Negroes, he said, fought in the World War and formed more than 10 per cent of the American Army.

TELLS OF EQUALITY

He told of his eating in the Congressional Restaurant. "I am going to eat there if nobody else eats there," he said. "I have a right to eat there and I am in Congress to obtain recognition for the Negroes of the United States. There was a great hurrah when Mrs. De Priest went to the White House. Well, she went there because she was the wife of a congressman. It wasn't a social visit. It was an official visit."

"Anyone who tries to buy your vote insults you. Take his money and then beat him. Give the money to the churches."

"Don't let the politicians think that all we want is to shoot craps and gamble. We have been paid off that way long enough."

"Respect yourselves. You can't expect any one to respect you if you don't think much of yourselves."

"Organize on the block system. Choose five men and women for leaders. Don't choose anyone who wants a political job. Never place a hungry dog to guard your meat box."

"In Chicago we have representatives in every block where Negroes live. We can send a message to 50,000 people without buying a postage stamp. Do that here and you will get somewhere."

Lily-White Rebuked by Hoover, Resigns

LAKELAND, Fla. (CNS)—The lily white wing of the Republican Party in Florida is experiencing some difficulty recovering from the recent clash with President Hoover three weeks ago over the distribution of patronage in the state.

Charles E. Callaway, white, chairman of the Republican state committee, has already resigned as a result of the White House rebuke and Glenn B. Skipper, white, Republican national committeeman for

Florida, called by his friends the "Florida Cracker," is under fire.

A meeting of the state committee has been called for January 13, at which time a successor to Callaway will be elected.

Callaway claims that Skipper was selected for the leadership of the lily-white group "because he was a 'Florida Cracker' and his record on the Negro question was well-known."

DARKY' LETTER REVEALS LILY WHITE PLAN

WASHINGTON, Nov. 22.—(CNS)—A scheme to eliminate the colored Republican through "blackening the Democratic party, rather than making the Republican party lily-white," which has been suggested to the Republicans, was uncovered here Tuesday during the Senate investigation into the activities of J. A. Arnold, white, of the Southern Tariff Association.

Arnold, testifying, admitted that the plan to nullify the national importance of the Negro vote by equalizing the vote between the Democratic parties had been discussed with Vice-President Curtis last winter. The plan would be to have Negro candidates for Congress run on Democratic tickets in cities like St. Louis, New York, Chicago and other colored districts.

"The plan which Colonel Mann and others who are in close contact with Hoover seems to be to kick the Negro out of the party in the South and to supplant him with white Democrats; to take all patronage away from the Negro—in other words to whiten the Republican party," Arnold read from a letter written to a field agent of the Tariff Association.

"Our line of approach is more acceptable to politicians and to Negroes—'equalizing by blackening the Democratic party, rather than by whitening the Republican party.' "I went with the 'darky' to see Vice-President Curtis and he thought well of our colored Congressman, but said it was a matter that should be taken up with Mr. Hoover and that he would talk with Hoover about it. They all seem to want to get Hoover's idea about it first," the letter read.

"DARKY" LETTER READ INTO U. S. SENATE INQUIRY

V.-Pres. Curtis Said to
Have O.K.'d G.O.P.
Plot.

HOOVER QUERIED

Kansan Agreed to Talk
to President.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Equalizing the colored electorate between the Democratic and Republican parties instead of making the latter all-white was the plan advocated by J. A. Arnold, white, manager of the Southern Tariff Association, to hold in the Southern States for the Republican party.

This information was made public in a letter introduced into the record of the inquiry of the Senate lobby committee into reported plans for organizing a Southern Republican Council.

A document purporting to give plans of the Southern Republican Council was also introduced into the record. It stated that "the colored person in Southern Republican politics can best be eliminated through the election of colored Democrats to Congress from St. Louis, Chicago, Harlem and other colored districts." It added that "this matter is in capable hands."

"The Darkey"

The letter, said to have been signed by Arnold and addressed to Vance Muse, white, a field man of the Tariff Association, read as follows:

"I went with the darky today to see Vice-President Curtis, and he thought well of our colored Congressman, but said it was a matter that should be taken up with Mr. Hoover and that he would talk with Hoover about it. They all seem to want to get Hoover's idea about it first. Curtis said he thought of getting a better grade of Negroes to lead in the South, but I told him that would not be the complete remedy."

Blacken Democrats

"Our line of approach is much more acceptable to politicians and to

Negroes of equalizing by blackening the Democratic party than by whitening the Republican party. The Negroes will go out in revolt over the plan of kicking them out of the party or of leadership. They will have to take themselves out of the way for the present.

Raw Problem First

"Our talk is down the race problem line. They all see that the race problem must be solved first before anything further can be done. We have the best solution yet.

"Think you should get Dr. Lewis here on the tenth and start something. We never will get anywhere talking around in circles. If necessary to see Hoover before it starts off then go see him and get his decision."

Dr. Lewis was identified by Senator T. H. Caraway, Democrat, of Arkansas, as Dr. Burdgett E. Lewis of Jacksonville, Fla. Arnold said he did not recall who he was.

In another letter written by Arnold to Muse on January 1, 1929, it was said:

Crux is Negro Question

"The crux of it all is the Negro question, which the regular Republican party cannot solve; they have tried it for fifty years and made no progress.

"The plan which Col. Mann and others who are in close contact with Hoover seems to be to kick the Negro out of the party in the South and to supplant him with white Democrats; take all patronage away from the Negro—in other words, to whiten the Republican party."

Walter Cohen

It was added that "the replacement of the Negro collector of customs of the port of New Orleans (Walter Cohen), by a capable white man indicates the future policy of the national administration. Prosecution of party officials in Mississippi (Perry Howard) and Georgia by the Department of Justice for alleged sale of Federal offices has strengthened the party in the South."

Doesn't Remember

DOESN'T REMEMBER.

Arnold said he could not remember the identity of the "darky" with whom he called on Vice-President Curtis; he could not remember whether the conference took place in the Vice-President's office or elsewhere; he could not recall anything about the prospectus or the budget of the Southern Republican Council the objects of which included "white supremacy" and elimination of the Negro as a political factor.

In fact, he professed total ignorance as to how these documents got into a safe in his private office.

LYNCHBURG

VIRGINIA

OCT 31 1929

NEGROES IN POLITICS.

It is sometimes irritating and sometimes amusing to listen to Republican politicians decry the injection of what they call "the race issue" into political campaigns. It is amusing when a joke is told with clever variations, and

amusing when it is rattled on by bores have fared badly in most national elections since the War Between the States, and without it the Virginia Republican party would have made an even worse showing in Virginia than it has made in every election since the last fusion of Republicans and Democrats was smashed to pieces by the white people of Virginia.

Everybody knows that the "race issue" in one form or another is a political question and everybody knows the origin of it. It was made a political issue by the Republican party in reconstruction days when, mad with thirst for revenge upon the people of the States of the Southern Confederacy, it bestowed the ballot upon a Democratic party has labored with some success to keep that question out of politics in Virginia, but turn party in election after election, every national Republican party platform containing bids for the solid negro vote and election after election proving it to be a greater issue than it is.

In State elections today that Virginians will go to the polls on November 5 and return the Democratic party to power. Colonel Anderson may protest until he is black in the face but his one time advocacy of removal of the bars erected against the negro in politics is known. It is not known, however that, like Dr. Brown on the "short ballot," he has never recanted.

The only way to keep the negro question out of politics is to administer successive defeats to those who put it there and are keeping it there, thereby demonstrating conclusively to them that they must change their tactics before they can ever hope to make a decent showing in Virginia.

Colonel Anderson professes great indignation because a pamphlet of which he seems to have heard somewhere declares that he and the Virginia Republican party have declared for repeal of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. Having written the Virginia Republican party platform and, with the assistance of Mr. Slemp, having rammed it down the throat of Republican delegates, handpicked in their various localities, Colonel Anderson knew what was in that platform so he boldly declares the statement of the circular he dug up to be a falsehood. That, too, is amusing. Colonel Anderson is on record as favoring the abolition of the poll tax as a requisite to voting, and is on record as violently protesting at restrictions which were designed to reduce the number of negro voters in Virginia.

But it isn't necessary to go back to the Colonel's statements or to Republican platforms to prove that the Republican party has made and is making the negro an issue in politics. The

Republican party put him in politics and if he were removed as a factor the Republican party would be in a bad way. In every election the negro vote is essential to the Republican party. Without it that party would

can shout back: "You, too!" That will tend to neutralize the "darkey" differences of the two major parties.

In other words, Arnold's novel and simple scheme is to get some Negroes elected on Democratic tickets from northern states to Congress and other offices. This, he hopes, would scare southern Democrats into the Republican Party. He says very frankly that Republican victory can be aided by "blackening the Democratic party" rather than by "white-washing the Republican Party." To put over this plan Arnold and his associates would use money, doubtless Republican money. Think of it: Republican money and influence subsidizing and backing Negro candidates on the Democratic ticket, as a part of the Republican campaign. "By indirection find directions out"—Shakespeare (and Arnold) found out that to approach some point, one must appear to be moving in the opposite directions.

So, at last, the Republicans are about to find a use for their Negroes: to use them as scarecrows to frighten a few white Democrats out of the Democratic Party. These same Negro Democratic officeholders, who are to serve as scarecrows to hair-brained white Democrats, are at the same time to serve as bait to brainless Negro voters and draw a few more of them into the Democratic Party,—in turn frightening a few more white Democrats into the Hoovercratic column,—and so on and so forth.

What a genius this Arnold is!

We wonder when southern white people are going to resent being taken for common morons in politics,—especially where the Negro is concerned.

Arnold implies that the only thing that is talking the plan and delaying its decision is the momentous question of which would be the better strategy: (1) Simply to "kick the Negro out" of the Republican Party into nowhere, or (2) to smuggle and bootleg him into the Democratic domain,—or at least enough of him to cause a cessation of the strong Democratic anti-Negro offensive against the Republican forces.

In all this little game, it seems, the Negro is not to be consulted or considered at all; he is simply to be the football; the Republicans and Democrats the players.

And yet some people are wondering why the conviction is gradually filtering its way through the Negro's sound cranium, that insofar as his real interests are concerned, neither of these "old parties" is worth a

At Last! Republicans Find Use For Their "Darkies"

By WILLIAM PICKENS

(For the Associated Negro Press)

J. A. Arnold, white Republican leader and party lobbyist, refers to the Negro leaders of his party, casually, as "the darkeys." I mean his is his title for the Negro Republican leaders, not for the rank and file black voters. In a letter to Vance Muse, which letter was produced as evidence in the hands of the Senate Committee investigating lobbyist corruptions, Arnold had written:

"I went with the darkey today to see Vice President Curtis."

When the Committee asked who this "darkey" was, of course Arnold could not remember. But "the darkey" himself surely must know who he was, and if I were that Negro man, I would feel disposed to call on J. A. Arnold and hand him,—my correct name!

But Arnold is a genius, anyway, and he proposes a very simple remedy for the Republican Party's "darkey" problem: namely, to give some of them to the Democrats. Then when the Democrats point at the Republican and cry: "Nigger! nigger!" the Republi-

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Republican.

Party Association
NEW YORK WORLD

Mississippi Shies at Another White Party

Writer Finds No Sign of Negro Domination in Banner Lynching State

By Lester A. Walton

JACKSON, Miss., May 4.—Here in Mississippi where cotton and politics are of foremost importance, the colored Republican is given the titular leadership of his party and the white Democrat receives the Federal jobs.

So much is said and written about Negro domination in such States as Mississippi and Georgia which have had Negro Republican National Committeemen, a non-resident is apt to form a mental picture of chonhyued men and women filling a considerable number of important Federal offices in these two Commonwealths. But this is farthest from the truth.

Perry W. Howard has served as Republican National Committeeman from Mississippi under Harding, Coolidge and Hoover. Mrs. Mary C. Booze has represented the women in a similar capacity. During this entire period not a Negro has been named for an appointment in Mississippi calling for Senatorial confirmation. Even Howard's selection as a Special Assistant Attorney General did not require consideration by the Upper House.

In criticism of Howard's choice of appointees members of his race in the State charge that some of the white Mississippians have been guilty of unfriendly acts against Negroes. One is said to have used his truck in carting two victims to the scene of a lynching. All efforts to prevent him from getting the Postmastership because of his activities as a leader of the mob were ineffectual.

As the G. O. P. is characterized in Mississippi as "the black man's party," the avowed white Republicans are few and far between. Therefore the Federal Judges, United States District Attorneys, United States Marshals and Postmasters are white Democrats who owe their appointment, in most instances, to a Negro. Now and then some prominent Northern Republican at Washington exerts his personal influence on behalf of a friend.

One only has to be in this State a day or two to learn that, despite all the anti-Negro utterances Democrats put out for propaganda purposes, the white and colored political leaders representing the two parties are not so very far apart—especially in the matter of Federal patronage.

Upon first coming into Mississippi and noting that Democrats, who have been known to make demagogic appeals to the white masses on the "white supremacy" issue, are denouncing "Lily White" Republicans and taking sides with the regular Republican organization controlled by Negroes, a visitor finds himself enmeshed in a maze of contradictions and inconsistencies.

After being on the scene long enough to observe impartially and analyze the situation, the following conclusion was reached: That white Democrats find it to their interest to keep the G. O. P. "Black and Tan," and are going to do everything in their power to prevent from springing up in the State another political organization to lure away the Caucasian voters.

Hence Mississippi Democrats, from the delta to the hill section, may be found openly and emphatically espousing the cause of Negro Republicans and hurling at those seeking to build up a "Lily White" organization the appellation, "carpet baggers."

The spectacle of white Democratic leaders and colored Republican leaders conferring on political matters, usually in the offices of the latter, does not conform with an outsider's views on race relationships in Mississippi. Nevertheless these private meetings are of common occurrence.

Prefer Negroes To Carpet Baggers

At one of these a prominent Democrat, well known throughout the State, was asked to express the attitude of his party in the present fight between "Lily Whites" and "Black and Tans" for patronage control. He replied:

"We favor Negroes remaining in power to these carpetbaggers. If they have to register more of their people to retain their grip on the State organization we propose to help them. Then if the Lily Whites get the better of them we will make it possible for Negroes to register in larger numbers—intelligent Negroes—and allow them to vote the Democratic ticket."

Direct predictions of "bloodshed if shed" seems to be a popular word in the white Mississippian's vocabulary. It is used freely in foreboding the inevitable if a determined attempt is made to change the present order of things political.

Negro leaders point out that local sentiment is unalterably opposed to the appointment of a Negro as Federal Judge or a United States District Attorney. Therefore, they seek to safeguard the best interests of the race by endorsing applicants inclined to give all a square deal in the courts. Even-handed justice is what they hope for in a State which leads in lynchings, and where black men are sometimes put to death by the mob.

The expressed wish of the Administration at Washington that there be two strong and virile political parties in the Southland has encouraged the "Lily Whites" in Mississippi to wrest control from the "Black and Tans." Headed by Lamont Rowlands, wealthy lumberman of Picayune, they have organized to capture the party machinery. This ambition they expect to realize

by having nothing to do with the colored brother. By publicly declaring they neither desired nor needed Negro support, the impression has been created that in their program to build up an aggressive Republican Party they will be as strongly opposed to the admission of Negroes in their ranks as the Democrats have been in the past. Their plan appears to call for two white political parties, with the Negro completely eliminated.

The "Lily Whites" have no numerical strength to boast of at present, but count on Hoovercrats and Democrats rallying to their clarion call when the G. O. P. has been "purged" of its colored element. Two former Northern Republicans are leaders of the movement—Mr. Rowlands, who came to Mississippi from Michigan, and former Gov. Sheldon of Nebraska.

Both factions forecast recognition by the President. Their optimism is based on assurances they assert were made to them by Mr. Hoover before election. The "Lily Whites" are emphatic in their claims that the Administration favors their anti-Negro activities. Negroes are equally insistent that it does not.

At least 80 per cent. of the Republican organization in this State has been made up of Negroes. At Kansas City the Mississippi delegation cast its twelve votes for the nomination of Mr. Hoover.

Since its formation Mississippi has been one of the most rockribbed Democratic States in the Union. In but one instance did it ever cast its electoral votes for a Republican for President before the Civil War. That was in 1840 for William Henry Harrison. Since the Civil War it has elected two Republican Governors, in 1870 and 1874, and in 1872 its electoral vote went for Gen. Grant.

In 1875 the Republican Presidential nominee received approximately one-third of the votes cast. In 1880 and 1884 the G. O. P. standard-bearers were given about 30 per cent. of the vote. From 1888 to 1920 the Republican nominees polled less than 2 per cent. of the entire vote. President Harding got 14 per cent. in 1920 and President Coolidge less than 10 per cent. in 1924. Nearly 11,500 votes were cast for President Harding.

Receiving 26,000 votes last November, "Lily Whites" argue they can turn hundreds of Democrats into Republicans if the Negro is eliminated from the inner party councils. "Black and Tans" retort by saying "Hoovercrats" in Mississippi and other Southern States were not voting so much for the President as voting against Alfred E. Smith.

That native Democrats do not take kindly to the idea of another white man's party being formed in the State is indicated by the following editorial from the Jackson Daily News under the caption "We Have Given Enough":

"Mr. Lamont Rowlands... is reputed to be a millionaire. Personally, Mr. Rowlands is a very agreeable gentleman and no doubt sincerely believes in the principles of the Republican Party. But Mr. Rowlands is hardly the person the white Democrats of Mississippi would select as their leader under ordinary circumstances.

Are Opposed to Outside Interference

"Mr. Rowlands is a native of Michigan, came South about fifteen years ago, and has since been engaged in the lumber manufacturing business in South Mississippi. A very large majority of the wealthy lumbermen in the piney woods of our State are Northerners and Republicans. They have bought up the heritage of our people for almost a song, and have grown immensely wealthy converting our virgin forests into cold cash.

"In all candor, we submit that Mississippi has done quite enough for these lumbermen by virtually giving them our timber, and there is no reason on earth why we should turn over our political affairs for their management."

Anent the present struggle between the "Lily Whites" and "Black and Tans," in which the Democrats are backing the latter, Eugene P. Booze, well-to-do Negro planter and an original Hoover supporter, reminds us that:

"Mississippians are a peculiar people. They will fight among themselves, but resent outside influence interfering with local affairs; this is true to such an extent that the leading native whites prefer that colored Mississippians control the Republican Party to outsiders."

Negroes In G.O.P. Revolt Because Hoover's Policy in South, and Decry

"LILY WHITE" STAND Point to Danger of Such Policy

Washington, April 21—Negroes are engaging in a real insurrection against the Republican Party.

Every member of Congress has received a *bulletine* compiled from editorials of newspapers arranging President Hoover for his declaration of policy in the south, which they interpret as a siding with Lily whites to eliminate colored citizens from sharing control of the party.

The collection of articles is issued by the Memphis *Triangle*. It reached the Congressmen in envelopes bearing the name of Robert R. Church, millionaire Negro and political power in Tennessee.

The headlines of the articles are an index to their charter:

"Herbert the Innocent," from the Jackson, Miss., Daily News; "The People Elect President to Run the

Country, not to Build Political Parties," from the Atlanta Independent; "The Suggestion of an Infamous Deal," from the Memphis Commercial Appeal; "The Republican Party South," from the Chicago Tribune.

Cites De Priest and Howard

The advent of Oscar De Priest in Congress from Chicago, and the alleged effort of the administration to convict former Attorney General Perry Howard of trafficking in public jobs because he would not resign as Republican Committeeman from Mississippi are cited in the extraordinary outburst of propaganda. The Negroes appear to have learned something from the Anti-Saloon League for the broadside resembles the Methodist Board of Temperance weekly clip-sheet, which spreads the doctrine of Prohibition.

The Triangle outburst has the preface under the caption, "President Hoover Stirs a Hornet Nest."

"From the President has come an open statement setting forth his plans in dealing with the Republican Party south of the Ohio. Many believe it to be a death-knell to the Negro in politics.

"Whatever may be Mr. Hoover's intention, the fact remains that his efforts will invite powerful opposition, both north and south, as the editorials reprinted on this page will indicate.

"Won't Stand for It"

The south will not stand for the establishment of a Republican Party within its doors headed by white men, and the regular Republicans north will not stand for the ousting of its faithful Negro element, upon which it has always safely depended.

"In catering 'to lily white' carpet-baggers in the south, the President stirs a hornet's nest, and the results may be both discouraging and painful."

The Negro newspapers generally have taken up the cry.

An editorial in the Washington Tribune hails the advent of De Priest, mentioning incidentally that

"his first act of nominating young men for cadets to West Point and Annapolis is self-evident," and commenting that "Congressman De

Priest is a part of the Hoover ad-he was assigned a fine room in the ministration and not a beneficiary House office building on the second floor, which was isolated. How-

This newspaper also mentions ever, it was so desirable that other that "campaign pledges made to members raised the point of sen- colored voters are not to be re- rity so he was shifted to a room deemed at this session of Congress on the freshman floor. Here his

Warned on Precedent

The Atlanta Independent warns Mr. Hoover that every President who sought to Republicanize the south by eliminating the Negro met with disaster.

"Let Mr. Hoover adopt this un- patriotic aspiration," an editorial runs, "and he will go out of office in 1933 as ingloriously as he went in gloriously in 1929." Referring

to the states excepted by the Pres- ident as requiring a shake up of their Republican organizations, the Independent asks, "did the break- ing of the solid south alone for the sale of patronage in North Carolina, Texas, Virginia and Florida?"

The obvious purpose of the propa- ganda is to scare the President away from his purpose to build up a real Republican Party in the south by ridding that section of its fear of Negro domination through stirring up trouble for the party among the black voters of such northern states as Indiana, Illinois and some others where they hold the balance of power.

This is the first time the race has attempted an organized move- ment of the sort and some of the northern Republicans are doubtful of the wisdom of risking their sure- ty in what Mr. Hoover would refer to as the marginal states for the possibility for consolidating the G. O. P. gains below the Ohio river.

Howard on Trial To-morrow

Former Assistant Attorney Gen- eral Howard goes on trial in Me- ridian, Miss., for the second time to-morrow. He was acquitted by a white jury on the first indict- ment. The second case was post- poned twice against Howard's pro- test. Part of the story is the alle- gation Howard was advised that if he would abandon his political place—the National Committee having found no way by which he could be ousted from membership in that body—the second charge would not be pressed. The Government at- torneys deny this absolutely.

There are still echoes of the trouble that met Congressman De Priest's advent to Congress. First

Observations

The Trend of Current Thought and Discussion

A Lone Negro Congressman

By KELLY MILLER

Hats off to Chicago. The city by the lake leads all the rest in political prowess and prominence. Chicago has a smaller Negro population than New York, Philadelphia and Wash- ington and only one thousand ahead of that of Baltimore and at she leads by several decades those rival claimants in both local and national political prestige and power. Let it be hoped that the other cities will shortly learn the secret and method of self-representation.

The center of political gravity, so far as the Negro is concerned, has shifted from the North to the South. Mr. Hoover's southern policy drives the last nail in the coffin of the Ne- gro's political aspiration and clinches it on the other side. Nothing short of a miracle will restore bygone pres- tige and power to the Negroes of the South within the life time of the youngest of the present generation. I do not wish in this utterance to criticize Mr. Hoover's policy, but merely to describe it. The good pres- ident will doubtless declare, in all sincerity, that he had no earthly in- tention to belittle the Negro and extol the lily-whites in southern politics. He was merely untangling an ugly situation in the simple, straightfor- ward way of the engineer. For the

sake of argument, or rather for the sake of avoiding argument, let this be conceded. The effect of the pro- nouncement remains the same, re- gardless of the intention of the pro- nouncer. The victim is just as dead if slain by a mindless maniac as if killed by a malicious murderer. By Mr. Hoover's policy the Negro is de- throned and the lily-whites exalted. In this conclusion the president's sin- cere friends and severest critic will agree.

Nothing will upset this program un- less the president within the next two years finds himself at loggerheads

with the dominant influence in his party, making it possible for some Mark Hanna or Frank Hitchcock to defeat his renomination through manipulation of southern delegates by methods in which this brand of poli- ticians is adept. Baring this unex- pected contingency, the southern Negro will be compelled to stand out in the political cold for many a long and dreary day. Or, as Senator Blaine used to say, the Negro will have to tarry at Jericho until his beard grows.

But, after all, Mr. Hoover's policy may be the best in the long run. Only those who live through the long run will be able to see. Only three courses were open to Mr. Hoover—to let things rip as they were wont to do—to insist upon the enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments—or to set up some such expediency as he has adopted. The first is wholly in- effectual as thirty years of trial has abundantly shown; the second re- quires greater courage than could be expected, even of Mr. Hoover; the third leaves us quizzical of the wis- dom of the president's policy and pur- pose. But, curiously enough, just at this critical juncture a Negro con- gressman comes down from the North, so that the Race may not be wholly without political hope.

A single Negro congressman amidst 434 of his colleagues will have mainly picturesque and spectacular value rather than concrete and prac- tical advantage to his Race. The mere fact of his presence gives the Negro some semblance of representa- tion and voice among those who make the laws by which he is governed. A few women in congress can have little or no direct effect upon legisla- tion, even where the female sex is chiefly concerned. But by reason of their presence the claims of the sex will be given more respectful and adequate consideration. It is an everlasting and unchangeable truism that no one is good enough to govern another without his consent and par- ticipation in the government. The man is not good enough to govern the woman, nor the white the black. Those who are not represented on the inside of the circle are outside of the game. I doubt if even the southern

fire-eater will be so bold as to de- nounce the Negro from the floor of congress in the presence of a member of the group denounced. It requires only the lowest order of courage to denounce the Negro where there is none to make reply.

We may hope within a decade to have at least five or six Negro mem- bers of congress. While this insig- nificant minority can have little or no hope of effecting affirmative legisla- tion for the Race, yet by sensible un- derstanding and mutual interchange of advantage, substantial helpfulness may be secured for the group they represent.

However, a word of caution is in order. Negro representatives from the North can have little weight in the councils of the party. Mr. De- Priest is but one out of 24 represen- tatives from the state of Illinois. He must follow the lead of his delegation

in the line-up along the line of po- litical policies. Furthermore, the states are manipulated by bosses whose dictates the individual must heed in party council. The northern Negro can hardly hope to effect na- tional policies as the southern leaders had the chance to do. Lincoln John- son in 1912 had it in his power to de- termine the nomination of the Re- publican party. He held the Georgia delegation, which turned out to be the decisive factor, in the hollow of his hand. No northern Negro can ever hope to exercise such determina- tive power.

The chief function of the lone Ne- gro congressman from Illinois, from the racial point of view, is that the nation will become accustomed to seeing Negroes in high governmental station. There is a studied policy on the part of the Republican statesman- ship since the days of Roosevelt to keep the Negro out of high public station so that the public mind will become accustomed to his absence as the normal order of things. The pub- lic press has given more space to Mr. DePriest than to any other ten members-elect, merely because of the unusualness of the Negro's pres- ence in the legislative body. In the days of reconstruction and immedi- ately thereafter such presence excited not the least comment or perturba- tion. When Mr. DePriest is rein- forced by representatives from New York, Philadelphia, Detroit and Cleveland, as will shortly happen, the Negro congressman will be looked upon as a regular and normal part of the law-making body. Out of sight, out of mind, is a good maxim in politics as in other affairs. If the Negro is not in evidence his cause is forgotten. But wherever his presence is registered his cause will follow, as surely as the little lamb followed Mary.

Our hats are off to you, Miss Chi- cago, and to Congressman DePriest, whom you have sent to represent the Race.

HERALD

OLEAN, N. Y.

MAR 30 1929

Mr. Hoover and the South

Once again in the first weeks of office Mr. Hoover's instinct for vigorous and forthright action has asserted itself. This time it is in connection with the Republican party in the South.

For a long time, in those states in which the Republican party is weakest, control has been exercised by negro or white politicians who have derived their strength from the power which they may wield in the Republi- can national nominating conventions. Their principal business has been office-jobbing, and they have been viewed with complacency by administration after administration. Now Mr. Hoover comes forward, and speaking in his own name, declares that he will no longer recognize such leaders as Tolbert of South Carolina or Perry Howard of Mississippi in the making of appointments to office. Such a direct blow at a vicious system has never been struck before.

In the main Mr. Hoover's move is not only sound statesmanship and sound administra- tion, but is likely to be good politics. The Republican party cannot thrive in the South until it commands the confidence of the local electorate, and until it has something to show besides patronage—jobbing of the baser sort.

There are, of course, risks to be taken. The problem of building up white support and at the same time not completely ditching the Southern and alienating the Northern negro is bound to be troublesome. This is a diffi- cult matter on which to find a middle-of-the- road path. But in the long run the difficul- ties ought to be insuperable.

This disfranchisement of the negro in the South is a political fact which cannot be al- tered. The Republican party in the South, by reducing its committents to local negro politicians, may play a useful role of opposi- tion—indeed it may fulfill a crying need. The effort to strengthen it should be watched with sympathy as in the interest of sound federal administration, and of vigorous and progressive politics.

Political-1929

Republican.

Party Affiliation

The Lowdown On The Political Future According To Melvin Chisum

3/28/29
Knoxville
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 25.—The boys of the inner circle

(the young men of the Fourth Estate, if you would know) have been urging me to tell them what is on the tapestry politically for the colored brother. Following up information given me some six weeks ago, this writer is in a position to state advisedly, the chances for receiving substantial emolument is good if the ambitious ones amongst us will use good common sense in their efforts to obtain what they go after and consult those who can help them.

Explains Coolidge Negligence.

From high dependable authority, this writer has learned that one of the big disappointments to President Coolidge was that when he first came to the Presidency there were so many self-imposed colored political bosses, quasi race uplifters, and unwanted advisers that he became disgusted and concluded that what the colored people needed more than political jobs was more real education. On one occasion a rather seedy looking crowd of self-appointed leaders called to see Mr. Coolidge and left a signed petition, the thought struck the President that he would have the standing of each of these individuals investigated a new amongst the other uncomplimentary discoveries, was this: One of

the members of that particular committee was under indictment for having criminally assaulted a school girl, the daughter of his neighbor; when Mr. Coolidge read this particular item, he decided that there was little of nothing to colored uplifters and that the whole crowd of colored people

must be taught better sense than to bring indicted criminals and irresponsible people to represent the Race.

A responsible gentleman, close to President Hoover, was instructed to seek advice, information and suggestions on the colored brother before the fourth of March. This writer has it from the highest authority that valuable data and recommendations on which the Hoover administration can base its programme for work-tious ones amongst us will use out a fair solution of the colored situation was provided and if let alone in his plan, Mr. Hoover is going to recognize the service of the colored people in a fine way, but he is not going to tolerate an orgy of irresponsible leaderless crowds of colored folks at the White House every day before breakfast.

Hoover Has A Plan.

President Hoover has a definite plan; it is his intention to call in a man who is not a job seeker and who is big enough and broad-minded enough to deal justly with his fellows. That man is Dr. Robert Russa Moton, President of Tuskegee Institute, and this writer is giving this information out to those of the Race who have just claims upon the Republican Party may know where and with whom to file those claims if they want to get anywhere.

President Hoover understands more about the colored people than the quasi Washington leaders think he does; President Hoover knows what he is about and will not be confused or turned from his course by banquets, where his praises are sung or by indignation meetings where his damnable may be prophesied. The President will stick to his own fine plan

the colored people of the whole nation, tired as they are of this pie-crust leadership so common here in Washington amongst the colored people, will be found backing President Hoover's plan with great loyalty. The hour has struck for this "phony" leadership, which promises to help everybody, and gets nowhere.

Who Is Colonel Horace A. Mann?

The public would like very much to know who is Colonel Horace A. Mann; where he came from; where is he going, and what did he stand for in the community where his citizenship obtains; if his name is on the voters list among his neighbors. The public is interested to know what is the background of the politician who has the gall to walk into a meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Committee with a set of prepared resolutions in his pocket, setting himself up as the generallissimo and political dictator of the South, and ask the Committee to approve his scheme of manipulating federal patronage in ten states without the knowledge or consent of the people to be served. The people would like to know what he stands for socially, morally, and professionally, both at home and in Washington, and upon what grounds does he demand the disfranchisement of the people of the South, and that the distribution of the patronage in the South be turned over to him. The public is anxious to know what manner of food the gods have been feasting the Colonel on, that he should expect for his services the patronage in ten states, and the complete disfranchisement of fourteen million Negro citizens.

Even the members of the Executive Committee were curious to know from whence came this political Napoleon. Many of them had never heard of the Colonel, and were astounded at the audacity and arrogance of his scheme. They listened with impatience to his story of personal triumphs and self laudation, and regarded his scheme as the delirious dream of a political adventurist intoxicated with imaginary success.

The Committee never took the Colonel serious, as his plans were rankly in violation of the Federal Constitution and foreign to the principles and policies of the Republican Party. But, the Colonel was not to be thrust aside as an idle dreamer, so he played his lone trump card by appealing from the non-action of the Committee to the President, where he met the same rebuffs. The Colonel thought he was greater than the Committee whom the party had selected to direct its affairs until it meets in convention in 1932. He ignored its authenticity, and judged the President's idea of party regularity by his personal conception of party procedure. Hence, his Waterloo.

But what were the Colonel's southern plans he is supposed to have laid before the Executive Committee, and from their decision appealed to the President?

First. To ignore and set aside the regular party organizations in the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas, South Carolina, and North Carolina, but not attempt to set up state organizations to function as such, as did the Harding administration in Georgia in 1911.

Second. To set up in lieu of the regular state organizations, in the respective districts, units of white men to act in all patronage matters; to set up as many district organizations in each state as it had congressional districts, each district to have a chairman, the personnel of district organizations to be fully white, all Negroes ineligible.

Third. A central organization to be established in Washington for distribution of patronage in the

Political Leadership

Amsterdam News
Bu **KELLY MILLER**

South with Colonel Mann in charge as chief dispenser. District organizations would recommend applicants to the central Washington office, with Colonel Mann acting as the United States Senate, clothed with power to approve or reject the district's choice; no appeal from his veto. These illegitimate organizations to have exclusive power to recommend, but Colonel Mann, like the President, would not be bound by their recommendations. If either the Executive Committee or the President had approved this patronage graft machine, there would have been no way to get an office in the South, except through the brokerage office of Colonel Mann.

Fourth. As a condition precedent, the scheme contemplated that with the patronage in the hands of lily whites, guided by the Italian hand of the ex-Tennessee lawyer, the lily whites would be able to come into the regular convention called by the recognized party authority in 1932, and elect themselves delegates to the next National Convention.

The Teapot Dome scandal would have been a tempest in a tea pot as compared with the patronage scandal the lily white scheme would have created had the Executive Committee fall for the Mann idea. If the Mann scheme had been approved, Senator Brookhart would have had some patronage story to tell that would have read like the story of the sale of Joseph by his brethren into Egypt.

But, the Executive Committee wants to know Mr. Mann's professional standing at the bar as a lawyer in Washington and Tennessee; the President needs to know the moral and social standing of his advisors at home; and the public wants to know their record and reputation from Genesis to Revelation.

THE Negro's political plight grows apace. At a time of all times, when co-ordinated and concerted action is required, the race is involved in political confusion inextricably confined. There is no indication of order out of the surrounding chaos.

President Hoover's administration seems destined to be epochal. He has hypothecated its success or failure upon the enforcement of law. Beginning with prohibition, he dare not stop short of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

Mr. Hoover has aroused public conscience which had lain dormant in passive acquiescence with lawlessness. The moral scandal of nullification has been proclaimed to the nation and to the world. The seared public conscience has been quickened and the lethargic public soul has been troubled.

To any one who watched with a discerning eye the surface indications of the last campaign in the South, a deep-seated purpose was clearly revealed. The solid South split. No effective political reconstruction was possible without the consenting participation of a majority of the old rebellion States. A political revolution was in the hatching. Harsh and ruthless means were resorted to. All Negroes were ruthlessly removed from the council table. Lily Whiteism was flirted with. Even the Ku Klux Klan was accepted, with its tolerated support. To all of this Mr. Hoover gave his nodding assent or tacit acquiescence.

After all has been said and done, the political reconstruction of the South, in harmony with the Fifteenth Amendment and the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment, will constitute the crowning achievement of the new administration. The enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment but paves the way.

Under the original reconstruction, the counsel and consultation of the Negro were not sought because the race had not at that time advanced beyond the A, B, C's of political science. Good white men, out of a mixed motive of benevolence and revenge, gave the Negro what they thought he ought to have. In the new reconstruction there seems to be the avowed purpose to take the white South into consultation, but to leave the Negro wholly out of the equation, except as a recipient. So far as I can learn, no Negro was

let into the secret plans of the Re-

publican manipulators concerning their policy in the South. No Negro orator or spellbinder was permitted to open his mouth in the campaign south of the Mason and Dixon line.

Three weeks ago I attended the John R. Hawkins banquet in Washington with open ears and an attentive mind. I had expected that this was to be a feast of the union and leadership among those who assume to guide the political fortunes of the race. I was ready to see the chairman of the campaign co-ordinating committee claimed the accepted leader and spokesman for the race in matters political.

My disappointment was painful to the point of chagrin. No political celebrity registered his presence. The leading rights of the great Northern States, where the Negro votes, were conspicuously absent; no Southern leader was there to put in his bill of complaints.

Mr. Hawkins' 919-word memorandum to Mr. Hoover seemed to express mainly his personal view without being backed up by the solid and concerted support of the race. I have no doubt but that the forty "leaders" have sent in similar memoranda. It must be said of Mr. Hawkins' four propositions that they were sufficiently comprehensive and inclusive, but not sufficiently pointed and dramatic to challenge consideration and action by the powers that be. The predecessor and his seventeen points will furnish an awful warning.

The question is vital! Will the race, through its organized political strength in the States, North and South, hold up the hands of Mr. Hawkins, or will we be left stretched in the air holding 919 words of impotent sermonizing? Merely because Mr. Work set up a colored co-ordinating committee and appropriated \$100,000 to hold the restless recalcitrants in line will not of itself establish political leadership, unless the substantial support of the race stands back of Mr. Work's choice.

Mr. Raskob set up a similar committee for similar purpose and appropriated a like sum of money, but neither the one case nor the other will or can ordain race political leadership without the common consent of those led.

Mr. Hoover will pay no mind to a leader whom the people will not follow. At such a critical time as this, when the political fate of the race is at stake, it would be the part of common prudence to uphold the man of the inside tract. One voice means more than many

testing parties in all of its states, but they must be white men's parties. History, experience and human nature forbid the successful operation of a hybrid party. So we await with curiosity to learn what Hoover means by his Sheldon appointment.

BROOKLYN TIMES

DEC 4 1929

**F. H. GILBERT GUEST
OF 4TH COLORED G.O.P.**

**Young Organization Now Has
Over 300 Members.**

Frank H. Gilbert, county leader of the Colored Republican Organization of Kings County, was a guest of the Fourth A. D. Colored Republican Club and aided in the distribution of Thanksgiving baskets from the clubhouse at 547 Myrtle ave.

This organization only has been organized for about six months and now has 300 members. It has been active in the community and has done extensive welfare work in the district among the colored people.

The next regular meeting will be held on Friday at 8:30 P. M.

WHAT DOES HOOVER MEAN?

President Hoover has done a very peculiar thing, but it is a very significant thing, if it means actually that it implies. He has nominated George L. Sheldon, formerly governor of Nebraska, and for some years a resident in Mississippi, to be collector of internal revenue for that southern state. That which makes the appointment peculiar is that ex-Governor Sheldon has been one of the leaders in Mississippi of those republicans who have been trying to set up a "lily white" republican party in that state. They have strenuously resented the representation of Mississippi republicanism on the party's national committee by the negro, Perry Howard, and the negress, Mary Boone.

Several years ago ex-Governor Sheldon was one of those who advocated a convention of southern white republicans to promote "lily white" organizations in all the southern states and count the negro out of the political equation other than as an independent voter.

If President Hoover, in selecting Sheldon for the best federal office in Mississippi means to put his imprimatur upon the lily white movement, it will mean much. If he intends to use his influence and powers to foster a white republican party in the south, and succeeds in doing that, he will produce some political movements in the southern states of far-reaching importance and effects.

Atlanta, Ga.
The south needs two strong con-

Politics 1-1929
Party Association
The Lily Whites Are Divided Among Themselves

Whether the Republican Party is committed to the democratic policy of excluding all Negroes from participation in the political affairs of the country, or not, it is generally accepted that the present administration at Washington is committed to the program of excluding all Negroes, everywhere, from the party councils and from holding public office anywhere. It is understood that the only thing the administration is willing for the Negro to do in Republican affairs, is to vote, but have no voice in the selection of those for whom they are to vote, and to hold no office anywhere in the gift of the administration. This is exactly the southern Democratic idea of the Negro in politics. We hold no brief for the public's opinion and we can only judge the administration's attitude by its representatives in Georgia.

There are two factions contending for control in the South, and both are fighting for white leadership—both placing the ban upon Negro leadership. In Washington, the line is clearly drawn between Postmaster General Brown and Colonel Horace A. Mann. In Georgia, Mr. Brown is represented through Collector of Internal Revenue, Col. J. T. Rose, and Mr. Mann is represented by the well known seed merchant, Harry G. Hastings. Mr. Hastings, propagating the Mann idea, is for white leadership, completely excluding Negroes from participation in either party primaries or elections. In the last campaign, while managing the Hoover interests in Georgia, he was opposed to Negroes voting on election day. He did not solicit Negro votes. He spent whatever money he had exclusively among white folks, and did what he could to get out a white vote, and to discourage the Negro voters. Colonel Mann's idea is a white party—lily white to the core.

Mr. Rose, representing the Brown policy, is a white organization with meager Negro representation in the organization, but no exclusion of the Negro from participation in the primaries, mass meetings, or elections in the party. The Negro will be permitted to vote, under the Brown idea, as represented by Mr. Rose, but not permitted to hold office in the party or for the government.

The two schools are agreed on one thing—a lily white party and white leadership—and differ only on the question as to whether the Negro will be permitted to vote at all; Mr. Rose taking the position that he ought to be permitted to vote, that no rule should be drawn against him prohibiting him from casting his vote on election day, but that he should be kept in such minority as not to be able to dominate the party or dictate its policies. On the other hand, Mr. Hastings' school is contending that he should not be permitted to vote, or have any voice in the party councils; that the provisions of the 14th and 15th Amendments of the Federal Constitution should be nullified. Mr. Rose's contention is that the provisions of these amendments should be recognized and exercised by the colored man in common with the white man, but the Negro should take a back seat until such a time as the party could outgrow its designation as a "Negro party".

These are the forces that are contending in Washington, and throughout the South for the mastery within the Republican Party, and it is up to the colored voter to choose which of these schools he will train with, or whether he will repudiate both, and cast his lot with the Democratic Party, his ancient enemy. Verily, the Negro is between the devil, the deep blue sea and hedged in the house of political assassins, who would crucify him on a cross of race hatred.

Republican

G. O. P. WARNED BY GA. COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Geo. S. Williams Hits From The Shoulders at "Lily White" Party

CHARGES THAT SHE IS BEING IGNORED

Says Clean, Capable Negro Leadership In The South Should Be Rewarded

New York, Nov. 30.—In what she characterized as "a note of warning to the Republican Party from the White House down," Mrs. George S. Williams, Negro National Committeewoman for Georgia and acting National Committeewoman yesterday, referred to the recent election in Virginia, which she said clearly indicated that the south is again solidly Democratic, and censured the administration in Washington if it did not abandon its "Lily White" policy in the southern states, the south would lose the Negro vote in the north and border states.

Mrs. Williams is spending the Thanksgiving holidays in New York with relatives at No. 246 West 132nd street.

Piqued over the failure of President Hoover and Republican leaders to accord her the consideration which she thinks due her, and resenting the growing influence of "Lily Whiteism" in her state, Mrs. Williams, after months of silence, made public her grievance.

Sees Party Drifting

"I am a Republican," she said. "In nearly seventy years of the party's existence its principles were those of right and justice and the leaders seemed imbued with the spirit of the fathers of the Republic but under the present leadership it is breaking away from its original moorings."

"The party of Lincoln and Roosevelt has received a shocking spanking in some sections where it saw fit to flirt with the Klan, as in Virginia and Indiana. That lesson reads that any party of American progress and equality cannot form a liaison with race and religious bigots and succeed."

"Negro citizens welcome the union of the blue and gray, but not at this sacrifice. The Republican party from the White House down now knows that the desertion of Virginia, Florida, North Carolina

and Texas from Alfred E. Smith was just a political freak. It knows now that the south is again solidly Democratic, solidly anti-Catholic and solidly Nordic in its political complexion."

"It knows that it cannot look forward to 1932 and balance the Dixie vote against the black vote in the north. It realizes that if a Republican Party is to be maintained it must be through a clean and capable Negro leadership of the only real Republicans in Dixie—the black Republicans."

"This is the firm foundation for Mr. Hoover to build on. 'Lily White' leadership is not only impossible, but as suicidal as it is treacherous to party principles. The Republican Party must realize that if the Negro vote is to be kept in line a policy should be adopted of recognizing and rewarding clean, capable Negro leadership in the south and rewarding with appointments and fraternal consideration, the important Negro electorate of the north. I can defy the accusing finger of graft and corruption, and there are many other Negro Republican leaders who can do likewise."

Warns Party Leaders

"In the north the battles between local Democratic organizations like Tammany Hall in New York, and the Republican Party, will continue and to the disadvantage of the latter, unless it honestly outbids for the Negro vote. As a member of the Republican National Committee, and the highest ranking official of the party in Georgia, I feel it my solemn duty to warn the Republican Party to honestly protect and nourish its black wing if it is to continue to dominate the country's political affairs."

Mrs. Williams feels resentful against Claudius Huston, newly-elected chairman of the Republican National Committee. She says he has been a member of the committee under five chairmen, but Mr. Huston is the only one who has

ignored her correspondence.

As Georgia is not represented in Congress by a Republican Senator or Republican National Committeeman Mrs. Williams maintains that favorable consideration should be given her recommendations for appointments. In this respect she charges she is ignored.

Mrs. Williams says that in the Administration's policy to ignore her and other Negro southern leaders a Committee of three, composed of James Francis Burke, Walter Newton and Walter H. Brown, was formed to deal with patronage in Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida and later Florida.

assured that her personal Committee was respected, but instead in the background.

TIMES
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

OCT 25 1929

GLOSSBRENNER IN PLEA FOR NEGRO VOTES

Just Call Me Glossie,' Is Appeal of G. O. P. Candidate.

AMEN, BROTHER,' REPLY

I'm Drafted to Do Things,' Third Ward Gathering Is Informed.

BY BEN STERN

"Call me Glossie!" "Amen, brother," shouted 500 Negroes assembled in the church at Twelfth street and Senate avenue, Thursday night for the Third ward Republican rally and barbecue.

And today, Alfred M. Glossbrenner, dignified business leader of Indianapolis with whom George V. Coffin hopes to remove the bitter taste of the Duvall "maladministration," is known as "Glossie" along Indiana avenue.

It was a hilarious meeting. From the moment that the Rev. J. D. Johnson, pastor of the Metropolitan Baptist church, introduced

Glossbrenner as "Glossengreener," with sound business principles until the last colored speaker, in systems and methods that could be obvious doubt and with palpable applied profitable to city government. hesitation, called him "Blossen-breiner."

Amid a storm of laughter over the mispronounced name, Glossbrenner declared:

"An Honest Name"

"I am proud of that name. I have looked up its genealogy and find that it is an honest name."

"I have done my best to add credit to it. Among his friends, my father was known as 'Glossie,' and if you want to remember me, if you please, all me Glossie."

"Amen, brother," came the chorus-shout.

"I have been a business man. I have been trying to attend to my own business."

"I have been drafted to do things for Indianapolis, if you please."

"I am a victim of circumstances in this campaign."

"I have been accustomed to writing, not speaking."

"Amen, brother."

"I have been a student of many things."

"Amen," came the chorus again.

Uses His Head

"My years of study have taught me that some men use their heads to grow hair upon, and other to separate their ears, but I have tried to use my head for something else, if you please."

"Thank God for that," swelled a mighty chorus.

Glossbrenner declared that there was "one great kick a man gets out of playing the game and that is winning."

"And I am out to win, if you please."

"The popular cry of the citizens of Indianapolis during the last two years has been: 'We need a change in city government.' How is that demand to be answered and when will the change be made?"

"My answer to that question is: The change already has been made in the minds of the people. They succeeded in displacing an administration that had lost popular respect. Some folks were satisfied when a change in managing officials had been made. But the people also went to the polls and voted to get rid of a form of government that they did not like."

"Unfortunately for those who wished to do so, it later became impossible to change the structure of city government."

Offers Experience

"Business experience is the qualification that I have to offer to the voters. Although I have served loyally the Republican party whenever called upon, I have not been a politician in the usual sense of the word. I have worked diligently at making a success of my own business. From experience, I am famil-

"I would try to improve its plans and practices so far as the law would permit. Although not a professional city manager, I have studied the procedure of this new school of government and believe that many of its important purposes can be accomplished simply by the application of good business management."

Talks also were made by former Mayor Charles Jewett, Dr. Charles Sumner Williams, Chief Eagle-leather and David Venerable.

G.O.P. Backed Plot To Blacken Democrat Party

Planned To Run Negroes On Democratic Ticket In North

Would Hold South Hoover And Curtis Knew Of Scheme, They Say

WASHINGTON, Nov. 12.—(AP)—Pro- ntion of a plan to put negro candi- dates in the race for Congress in the North as Democrats in order "to hold a line" the Southern states which went for Herbert Hoover in the last election was attributed to J. A. Arnold, manager of the Southern Tariff Association today by the Senate lobby committee. Examined for his seventh day by the committee, Arnold acknowledged correspondence and documents which disclosed the program for "blackening the Democrats" by putting up the correspondence with Vice-President Curtis, who had referred the scheme along to President Hoover.

Again accused by Chairman Caraway of the lobby committee of having a "back case of failing memory," Arnold after some hesitation acknowledged his handwriting on some of the mass of additional correspondence produced.

He Blames Muse

As for the "blackening of the Democratic Party," Arnold ascribed that scheme to Vance Muse, a field representative of the Southern Tariff Association, saying he had told Muse to "go ahead" but that he thought "it was too much of a dream and impossible of application."

A document showing that the idea was to organize the Southern Republican Council and get negro candidates in the race as Democrats for Congress in St. Louis, Chicago and New York, was produced by the committee.

"Nothing came of the organization," Arnold asserted.

A letter from Arnold to Muse was read by Chairman Caraway of the lobby committee which said Arnold went "with the darkey today to see Vice-President Curtis and he thought well of our negro congressman idea, but said it was a matter that should be taken up with Mr. Hoover and that he would talk with Hoover about it." The "darkey" was not identified.

Curtis's Plan Not Complete

"Curtis said he thought of getting a better grade of negroes to lead in the South," the letter continued, "but I told him that would not be the complete remedy."

"Our line of approach is much more acceptable to politicians and to negroes of equalizing by blackening the Democratic Party than by whitening the Republican Party; the negroes will go to the revolt over the plan of kicking them out of the party or of leadership; they will have to take themselves out of the way for the present."

"Another letter written by Arnold to Muse said, in regard to the council, that it all seems to swing around Hoover." "He seems to have given the impression among his associates that he is personally interested in the South and wants to handle it," the letter added. "I have no doubt he will welcome any aid or assistance but the only thing to do is to go ahead with it."

Later the letter said the "crux of it" is the negro question which the regular Republican Party cannot solve; they have tried it for fifty years and made no progress.

To Question Grundy

The lobby committee tomorrow expects to question Joseph R. Grundy, president of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association, and Thomas A. Hill of Pine Bluff, Ark., treasurer of the National Council of State Legislators. Chairman Caraway announced today that a statement submitted by Grundy in regard to his list of "common and preferred senators" was considered inadequate. He was asked to present the statement after he expressed the opinion or the witness stand that certain states were "backward" and that their senators should have little voice in making a tariff bill.

Hill will be questioned regarding finances of his organization, which occupies joint headquarters in Washington with the Southern Tariff Association. The name of Vice-President Curtis again was brought into the discussion when a letter to him from Arnold was read which said the leading issue in the congressional campaign in the Third Louisiana District last August was the "DePriest affair" at the White House.

The campaign writers and orators used last night at the final campaign rally of the Colored Men's Regular Republican Association held in the headquarters at 354 Forrest Street.

All the Republican candidates were present to address the crowd who were packed into the large reception hall of the clubhouse. Alonzo Biassey, vice-president, presided at the meeting in

representative DePriest, negro Republican of Illinois.

In his statement to the committee, Grundy said the senators from Arkansas, Idaho, Montana, Wisconsin, Arizona, Mississippi and South Dakota "have been most vocal in the efforts to prevent industry from deriving any benefit from the pending tariff revision."

Grundy said in a table submitted to the committee he had compared these seven states with seven industrial states which showed the latter employed nearly 55 per cent of all the industrial workers of the country as against less than five per cent in the seven smaller states.

"In another table listed 25 states whose total industrial output is only approximately that of Pennsylvania alone," the statement said, and in still another tabular statement I set forth 22 states whose total income tax payments do not come within \$5,000,000 of that paid by Pennsylvania."

Grundy compared the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia with Pennsylvania to show the total population was 12,779,793 against 8,720,017 for Pennsylvania, and the votes cast in 1926 elections were 343,464 against 1,504,696 for Pennsylvania.

"The pertinent point of the matter is that while those states have one United States senator for each 28,622 voters, or a total of 12 United States senators in all," he said, "Pennsylvania, with a present population of about 10,000,000 and more than a million and a half voters, participating in the 1926 senatorial election, has but one member and a single voice in the United States Senate."

"More pertinent still are the same facts when expressed another way, namely, that if Pennsylvania had representation in the United States Senate in the same ratio as these states it would have 52 1-2 senatorial votes instead of only one."

JOURNAL

JERSEY CITY, N. J.

NOV 2 1929

Says Negro Vote Should be Solidly Republican

C. Bion Jones, Urging Support for Own Candidacy, Declares All Should Vote for G. O. P. Candidates — Rally Well Attended

place of C. Bion Jones, who was on the list of speakers. Jones called upon the Negroes of the city to unite in backing him as the only representative of their race on either ticket. Regardless of personalities or personal ambition, he declared, the Negroes should bend every effort to place one of their number in a position where he could adequately represent them.

Should Reciprocate

Not only did Jones urge his hearers to vote for him, but he asked that all support the party which did them the

honor of placing one of them on their ticket. All Republicans, he said, are working for him as one of the candidates and the Negroes of Hudson County should appreciate this and give their support to the full Republican ticket.

In introducing Jones, Chairman Biassey pointed out that he had given every moment of his available time to the welfare of his race since he came to Jersey City in 1900. His ability, he said, was recognized by A. Harry Moore, when he was Governor. At that time Moore, a Democratic Governor, selected Jones, who has always been a Republican, as the representative of New Jersey at the National Sociological Congress at Washington. This, it was pointed out, indicated plainly Jones' leading position among the Negroes of Jersey City and the entire state.

A large delegation from Powell K. Martin Lodge, I. B. P. O. E. W., of Hoboken, led by Exalted Ruler Oliver Paterson attended the affair as a tribute to Mr. Jones, who is a district deputy of the Colored Elks.

15,000 Negro Voters

Louis G. Faulkner, an independent of the Democratic League of Hudson County, spoke briefly for the candidacy of Mr. Jones. Although he is a Democrat, he declared, he felt that every Negro citizen in the county should support a member of their race regardless of party. So long as the Negroes are divided, he said, they can never hope for adequate representation. He pointed out that the 15,000 or more Negro voters in Hudson County could have a great influence on any election.

A telegram from Congressman Fred A. Hartley sending his regrets was read by the chairman. Hartley was prevented from being present by the dinner for Ambassador Edge in Newark, at which his presence was required.

Other speakers beside the candidates were Rushford F. Lord, Richard S. Fitzhugh of Bavonne, Conrad A. Ross.

Justin A. Wilson and Ernest L. De-aur. An elaborate musical entertainment was provided for the close of the meeting. Mr. Jones declared that nothing else made him certain of his election, the fact that Professor W. Merritt was singing at one of his campaign meetings made him

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Republican

REPUBLICANS IN THE SOUTH

G. O. P. HOUSEHOLD



Commercial Appeal 9-10-29 Memphis, Tenn.

The Cleaning-Up in the South Gets Under Way.

FLUSHED over its victory in the South last November, the Republican party is confidently making a definite effort to increase its strength in that section of the country. To that end it has just appointed as chairman of the Republican National Committee, Mr. Claudius H. Huston. The new G. O. P. head is a good mixer, astute and understands conditions in the South. It is being openly declared that he will pick leaders in the South from among "the best elements." All of which is in accordance with Mr. Hoover's assurances given the South in a pre-election speech at Elizabethton, Tenn. Mr. Hoover's attitude received general approval.

Thus it would seem that the days of Negro control and prominence in the party councils in the southern states are about over. From the white southern point of view, "the best elements" are, of course, the white elements, and if the leaders are to be picked from these, the southern Negro politician is about out of luck.

It is quite obvious that, conditions being what they are in the South, a strong Republican party cannot be built up there except by subordinating the Negro politicians. It is useless to blink the fact that no appreciable percentage of the white population in Dixie will follow Negroes politically. So if there is to be a two-party system in the South the Negroes must step down. As a matter of fact most of these black leaders have been already displaced, or discredited. For them the new southern policy of the Republican party cannot but have tragic results. But these Negroes are few, very few. 9-21-29

For the great masses of Negroes in the South, however, the new policy will be a political blessing. Effectively disfranchised for many years, the coming of the two-party system may at last give them a chance to have some voice in their local and state government. At the present time the two-party system is yet a long way off but the new Republican policy will bring it nearer. Any step that will politically divide the southern whites and end their concentration on the Negro problem is bound to be beneficial to the Negro group. The new dispensation will be hurtful to the pride and pocketbooks of a handful of Negroes but we cannot feel that the interests of the race are being injured thereby. Only break down the reign of the southern Democratic oligarchy and the future of the Negro is compelled to be brighter.

HUSTON AND G. O. P.

The election of Claudius H. Huston, of Indiana, Tennessee, and New York, the son of a Presbyterian minister, as the chairman of the National Republican Committee this week, may mean a change, and it may not mean a change in the G. O. P. toward the colored brother.

The election of Mr. Huston, as of Tennessee, features him as the first man from the South to hold such a position. Just what the significance to be placed upon this is to be determined.

It is a known fact that the mysterious Horace Mann of reported Ku Klux Klan fame, and mighty man during the 1928 campaign, is a friend of Huston's, and it is reported that he will be re-called to the councils of the National Committee. Volume

It is also known that Robert R. Church, of Memphis, and Mann are not friends by any means. Mr. Church did not attend the committee meeting here this week. 9-13-29

Mr. Huston has been manager of the general corporate properties of the Locomotive Engineers for the past two years. This has put him in direct contact with capital and labor and may or may not mean much to the laboring man. He is reported to be a fine organizer and financier. Washington, D.C.

The outlook for the G. O. P. is not roseate. Mr. Huston may have the big opportunity of his life in trying to whip the progressives in line and elect enough Senators in 1930 to assure President Hoover a successful four-year reign.

The 1930 elections may surprise Mr. Huston and the conservative G. O. P. leadership. The record of 1922, when a Republican majority of only one vote led to some of Calvin Coolidge's most disastrous legislative defeats, may be repeated after 1930. The dissatisfaction of tariff proceedings may re-act along with the swing-back from the big Hoover majority of 1928.

The present Progressives up for re-election next year may all return. The list includes Borah, Walsh, of Montana; McNary and Norris. Kenyon, of Iowa, may be induced to run against Steck, the Democrat from that state. Cordell Hull, of Tennessee, may replace the recently appointed Brock. Al Smith, of 1928 fame, of New York, may fill the reported vacancy to be caused by the resignation of Senator Copeland to head the Sanitary Commission. He is reported as a Progressive. Conservative Gillett, of Massachusetts, may be replaced by a more liberal Republican or Democrat, which will be a gain for the Progressives.

Senator Warren, of Wyoming, is 85, a conservative and may not try for another term. His successor may help the Progressives. Schall, of Minnesota, has lost some of his progressiveness and may be replaced. Then Senator Deenen, of Illinois, a Conservative, may be replaced by Mrs. Ruth Hanna McCormick.

Senator Edge, of New Jersey, has been appointed Ambassador to Paris, and his successor may be less Conservative. And, too, Thomas Heflin, of Ku Klux Klan and Alabama fame, the dry whose son persists in being a wet among the wets, may not return.

With these changes looming, Mr. Hoover and Mr. Huston may find that they may need the Negro in some of these states. However, as Mr. Huston is an unknown quantity regarding his policy toward Negroes in the party, we shall watch his movements.

Election of Huston to Bring New Deal in Republican Patronage Throughout South

Means Victory for Col. Horace Mann in Tilt With Adams—Hastings May Boss Georgia.

9-10-29

BY GLADSTONE WILLIAMS.

Washington, September 9.—Another shake-up in republican organization activities in Georgia and other southern states is scheduled to follow the election today of Claudius H. Huston, of Tennessee, first southerner in 73 years as chairman of the republican national committee, succeeding Dr. Hubert Work, resigned.

After the committee had met and unanimously elected Mr. Huston, former assistant secretary of commerce under Herbert Hoover, it was learned on unquestioned authority that Mr. Huston has patched up his disagreement with Colonel Horace A. Mann, manager of the pre-election campaign in the south, with reports that the latter is to be restored completely to his former position of control over southern republican organization affairs.

Colonel Mann, it is asserted, will soon take over an office at headquarters of the republican national committee here and direct a new program for expanding republican activities in the south. His office, it is declared, will supplant the unofficial patronage committee appointed by President Hoover to deal with southern problems and consisting of Postmaster-General Walter F. Brown, Walter Newton, secretary to the president, and James Francis Burke, general counsel to the republican national committee.

On the surface the new arrangement, not yet officially announced, has the appearance of a complete victory for Colonel Mann in his conflict with Postmaster-General Brown over control of southern patronage and organization matters. It is doubtful, however, whether his assumption of the new office will be followed by outright repudiation of the so-called patronage committees already set up and functioning in Georgia and other southern states under direction of the postmaster-general.

Rather it is expected that some adjustment would be made of the differences between the various factions represented in the so-called Brown and Mann patronage committees.

Just how Georgia will be affected by the new scheme remains to be seen. At first blush the best guess would seem to be that the present advisory committee established by Mr. Brown and headed by Lindsey Hopkins, of Atlanta, with which Collector of Internal Revenue J. T. Rose is closely identified, will be revised to make room for at least an equal number of Mann adherents.

In the event the patronage committee arrangement is maintained in Georgia, expectations are that the first addition will be H. G. Hastings, of Atlanta, manager of the regular republican campaign in Georgia last fall and a close friend of Colonel Mann. Mr. Hastings was chairman of the original committee appointed by the former southern campaign manager to deal with patronage matters in the state. He later headed a delegation of Mann followers which came to Washington in the spring to protest against the Brown committee named in place of the original body.

At the time the delegation was here Mr. Hastings and his associates, including Barry Wright, of Rome, left the White House after a 45-minute conference with the president feeling confident that some satisfactory solution of the conflict would be worked out. Meantime, however, the Brown committee has functioned with apparent administrative authority, although comparatively few state federal appointments have been made, leading to the conclusion that the president had turned thumbs down on his former southern manager.

Colonel Mann and Chairman Huston had been bosom friends for 25 years before their recent break, growing out of the failure of Mr. Hoover to include a southerner in his cabinet, in recognition of the liberal support given the Hoover-Curtis ticket in the last election. So long as their relations were unharmonious there was always a doubt that the colonel would again exercise his former voice of control. But there have been rumors for some weeks that the election of Mr. Huston as chairman would be followed by a reconciliation with Mann. This has now been accomplished.

A number of Georgia republican leaders were on hand at the meeting of the national committee today, but failed to participate in the deliberations. J. F. Flanders, of Swainsboro, was here to press his claim as national committeeman-elect of Georgia, as the successor to Ben Davis, Atlanta negro leader, but his case failed to be brought up for consideration. The committee passed over it without action.

Others here include Collector Rose, United States District Attorney Clint W. Hager, of Atlanta; J. T. Arnold, of Athens, and a few more.

Mamie Williams, negress, of Savannah, and republican national committeewoman, has been here for two days seeking to have the new chairman give her an important voice in state patronage affairs as the highest ranking republican official in Georgia, as she claims, but has been unable to get anywhere.

LILY WHITE NOW HEADS G.O.P. COMMITTEE

Claudius Huston, Hoover Choice, Is Quickly Named.

GA. POST VACANT

Hoover too Busy to See E. P. Booze.

WASHINGTON. (CNS)—The Republican National Committee in session here Monday, failed to elect a national committeeman for Georgia to succeed Ben J. Davis, and patronage matters

in that state will continue to be handled by a special committee of Republicans and Hoover Democrats which has been set up in that state.

Mr. Davis arrived in the city Monday from the Elks' convention in Atlantic City, and left Thursday, after he learned definitely that the committee would not reopen the case at their annual meeting, despite agitation for its consideration by members of the Georgia State central committee.

The election of Claudius H. Huston, white, of Tennessee, as successor to National Chairman Hubert Work, was the only matter of importance transacted at this session. Mrs. Alvin T. Hert having reconsidered her resignation and decided to remain with the committee.

A Lily White

Huston is not only white, but he is a lily-white and a violent opponent of R. R. Church, G.O.P. boss of Tennessee.

Huston, who is a southerner, has been instructed to concentrate for the next three years on the South to spread the lily-white propaganda and by all hazards hold for Hoover the four Southern states the G.O.P. carried in the last election.

R. R. Church was not at the meeting. It is known that he opposed Huston, and will continue to do so. Neither Church nor his friends have forgotten the Hoover plans to side-track him in favor of Huston's Tennessee lily-whites just after the election.

Mrs. George S. Williams, national committeewoman for Georgia; E. P. Booze, husband and of proxy. Mrs. Mary P. Booze, national committeewoman for Miss.; and Perry W. Howard, national committeeman for Mississippi, all attended the meeting.

Mrs. Williams conferred with Hoover at the White House before the sessions began.

Jim Crowed Again

The "executive committee" was invited to the White House Monday to see the President. However, nearly all of the national committee showed up except the colored members, who viewed the incident as the usual trick to keep them out of the handshake with the President and out of the official photograph.

Hoover is Busy

E. P. Booze, called at the White House. There were "too many ahead of him" and he did not get to see Mr. Hoover.

Mrs. Williams sought a conference with the newly elected chairman in order to lay before him a demand for participation in patronage reform in her State.

Making her request on the ground that, since there is no committeeman from Georgia, she is "the highest Republican official in the State." Mrs. Williams said she had been promised that her recommendations regarding patronage distribution under President Hoover's committee would be considered, but that thus far they have been "utterly disregarded."

"I believe in purification of patronage."

age practices in the State," she said, "but I desire to participate in the new program, as the ranking Republican official. Georgia Republicans have no representative in Congress and it would seem just that I should be consulted in the distribution of patronage."

"I have faith in President Hoover and in his purification program," she said, "and in conferences with party leaders I was assured that the committee would not reopen the case of patronage was to act only in an advisory capacity. But so far my recommendations have not been accepted."

No Resignation

The reported resignation of Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman for Mississippi, was not tendered at this meeting. Mr. Howard was present and was treated with all the courtesy that any other member of the committee received. Mrs. Mary C. Booze, the national committeewoman for Mississippi, was not present. Her husband Eugene P. Booze, was here.

Vote for Huston

Mr. Howard and Mrs. Williams were instructed to concentrate for the meeting of the committee. Mr. Howard expressed himself as pleased with the selection of Huston and the trend of political events at present. He would not, however, vouch for the attitude for the new chairman toward Negroes. He said that he could not predict what the new chairman would or would not do. Mr. Huston told Howard that he wanted to have a talk with him at his first opportunity.

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Party Affiliation

Vindictive Law Enforcement

By KELLY MILLER

PRESIDENT HOOVER

announced his purpose to appoint a commission to inquire into the feasibility of a more efficient enforcement of the laws of the United States, both constitutional and statutory. The flagrant violation of the Eighteenth Amendment is the foundation of this worthy purpose.

The announcement of the President furnishes occasion for the Negro to put in his plea for civil and political equality guaranteed by the war amendments to the Constitution. The President is justly held by ethical consistency to give equal consideration to the enforcement of all provisions of the Constitution which it is his oath-bound duty to do. There is amazing inconsistency in expending millions of dollars on one Constitutional amendment while completely ignoring other amendments which are equally or even more flagrantly flouted.

I very seriously doubt that much of this noisy contention for the equal enforcement of law is genuine or sincere. Much of it bears the semblance of vindictive argumentation. It is more often than not used as a cloak to conceal the real purpose of embarrassing the noble purpose of the President to enforce the laws against liquor.

I heard a distinguished Congressman declare from the public platform that he would never take any interest in the Eighteenth Amendment unless or until the nation asserted itself on the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. As a matter of fact, this particular Congressman was bitterly opposed to prohibition and would not change his opposition, even if every portion of the Constitution



— Kelly Miller —

were rigorously upheld in the letter and spirit.

The legislature of Wisconsin passed a set of resolutions yoking the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and the Prohibition Amendments and urging upon Congress like treatment of the one and the other. But the same legislature passed a provision refusing, on the part of the state, to co-operate with the Federal government in the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The sinister purpose is obvious. The easily apparent object is to embarrass the government in its endeavor to make the nation dry, and Wisconsin also with it. Wisconsin wishes the Federal government to treat the human rights amendments the same as it does the prohibition amendment, but seeks to have the latter provision annulled.

But most grotesque of all, the City Council of Chicago passed similar resolutions urging upon Congress parity of treatment of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Eighteenth Amendments. The windy statesmanship of the Windy City prided itself upon its moral courage and heroism in this outspoken declaration on touching the integrity of the Constitution and the laws. And yet, every well posted citizen well knows the attitude of

Chicago on the issue of prohibition. pleasantly by and join in the unsustaining public sentiment must be developed before we may hope for genuine and sincere endeavors upon the part of all good American citizens to co-operate whole-heartedly in the enforcement of the Constitution as it is written.

It does not seem to me that anything is to be gained by this vindictive attitude. Offsetting one violated part of the Constitution by another, or negating one nullification with another, leads to nowhere. The Constitution must stand in its integrity. All of its provisions must be respected or the whole fabric is undermined.

The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were inserted for worthy patriotic aims which have no relation to the Eighteenth Amendment or the liquor traffic. These amendments must stand or fall on the basis of their own merit. They need no spurious bolstering up by the law calculated to control traffic in beverage which proves to be dangerous to public life and morals. By all means, let it be urged upon Mr. Hoover to enforce the Constitution; but let us not tie his hand by insisting that he shall not enforce one provision until he can enforce every provision.

I stated at the recent Durham Fact-Finding Conference that the observance of one part of the Constitution is calculated to dispose the nation to observe other portions of that document. I am not reckless enough to believe that the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment would lead to the immediate enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth. But I am emphatic in the belief that the flagrant violation of the Eighteenth Amendment will lead directly to the complete ignoring of the organic law guaranteeing the Negro's political and civil equality. While it may not be logically certain that the observance of one law leads to the observance of all laws, there can be no doubt that the disregard for any law leads swiftly to the disregard for every law.

As we face the country today, there is widespread sentiment for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, but utter indifference to the ones in which the Negro is primarily concerned. Congress will vote a desired number of million dollars for one, but not one mill for the other. The practical question for the Negro to consider is whether he will stand com-

consistency with regard to the Constitution in all of its parts and provisions.

I would help enforce the Eighteenth along with the Fourteenth and Fifteenth, if I could; I would help enforce the Eighteenth and parts of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth, if need be; I would join in the enforcement of the Eighteenth, without reference to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth, if forced to such a necessity.

NEGROES WILL RECEIVE FAVORABLE RECOGNITION IS DR. MOTON'S BELIEF AFTER CONFERENCE

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 22—(By the present administration is going to ANP)—Dr. Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, was a caller at the White House last Thursday at the invitation of President Herbert Hoover.

He spent three-quarters of an hour with the president and while no official announcement of the subject of their conversation was forthcoming either from the executive offices or Dr. Moton, political circles here are vibrating rather expectantly. After his chat with the president, Dr. Moton conferred with Postmaster General Walter Brown.

Washington knows that a fine personal friendship exists between the chief executive and the Negro leader, as well as that Dr. Moton enjoys the respect and confidence of the nation's head. It is likewise known that Dr. Moton's larger concern is for the improvement of the economic condition of his people, particularly as it affects the workers and farmers of the race, rather than an interest in appointive places.

However, when pressed for an opinion on the purely political outlook, Dr. Moton said, "I have great hopes after talking with President Hoover, that

"I believe that the president is determined to be fair and square in his treatment of us and oblivious to creed or color. It is my sanguine opinion that we will receive greater recognition and be given fuller opportunity to serve our country's affairs in more responsible places than hitherto has ever been true."

"I am not worried about the so-called 'Lily-White' situation in the South. There ought to be on each of the patronage committees which are being set up in the various states one or more Negro representatives, and I am hopeful that this will be done."

Dr. Moton was accompanied on his visit to the White House by Fred R. Moore, editor of the New York Age. In the morning, Congressman Oscar DePriest called upon Dr. Moton and had a lengthy discussion relative to racial affairs. Later Mr. DePriest left Washington for Tuskegee Institute, which he is visiting for the first time.

THE CHAOTIC STATE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN THE SOUTH

The Republican party in the South is trying to recover its equilibrium. Here and there, there is a fluster indicating the uncertainty of its status and the effort to get it all clarified. The recent campaign, of course, threw it out of joint; it practically destroyed the old organization without setting up anything in its place as a functioning basis. It dethroned the old leaders and left their places vacant and their influence ineffective for any purpose except to handicap any new leadership that might rise in its place. The matter of circulating its new blood has become to be one of its problems, and the matter of readjusting its heart to normal action is another.

A delegation from Georgia has just visited the President in an effort to disentangle a muddled situation and get recognition. The result of the conference appears to indicate that no one is ready to risk a definite approval of any procedure purporting to offer a solution. The President could not have much time for factional party troubles now outside of Congress; nor could he see far enough into the situation to justify advising any definite procedure to any faction even though he were not preoccupied with matters more vitally important.

The situation is all too chaotic to formulate anything more than a general policy affecting all sections alike. The medium of federal patronage distribution is too much impaired to be regarded as being safe and the disposition to "lay off" of suggested procedure until the situation resolves itself into a state of feasible probabilities will cause hurtful errors to be avoided. The certainty that the Negro vote in the South will increase steadily and the probable certainty that the white Republican vote will also increase raises a question to which there is yet no approach. There will not be any approach to this question until it can be definitely seen how much of the white Republican vote is earnestly desirous of a really functional Republican party in the South that will compete.

This can be settled only by the development of a new attitude or a reversion to the old attitude in which a few whites were lined up with the party for the sake of patronage benefits and the negligible Negro vote was used to justify the existence of a political organization. It is interesting to watch the trend of sentiment and activities and predict what will emerge from the chaotic situation in which the recent Presidential campaign left the Republican South. Evidently the President means to follow his own nose mainly in the distribution of patronage. This will leave the way open to the settlement of difficulties among Southern Republicans themselves without involving the latent opportunities which he may have to make the next campaign a telling story of permanent solid Republican gains in the South.

DR. MOTON VISITS PRESIDENT HOOVER

According to an Associated Negro Press release, Dr. Robert R. Moton, of Tuskegee, visited President Herbert Hoover at the White House last week upon the latter's invitation.

As would naturally be expected, upon his emerging from the White House conference, Dr. Moton sounds an optimistic note as to the present and future attitude of President Hoover toward the colored people in this country. Among other things, he is quoted as saying, are the following:

I have great hopes after talking with President Hoover, that the present administration is going to consider our group in a larger and finer way than has been true for many years.

I believe that the President is determined to be fair and square in his treatment of us and oblivious to creed or color. It is my sanguine opinion that we will receive greater recognition and be given fuller opportunity to serve our country's affairs in more responsible places than hitherto has ever been true.

I am not worried about the so-called Lily-white situation in the South. There ought to be on each of

the patronage committees, which are being set up in the various states, one or more Negro representatives, and I am hopeful that this will be done.

Of course, we do not know what was said between Mr. Hoover and Mr. Moton. We are informed that they were alone at the time of the conference. But unless, Mr. Hoover has reversed his public statement with reference to the Negroes, we do not see how Dr. Moton, as optimistic as he is, could say that he believes that the President of the United States is "determined" to be fair and square in his treatment of us.

We can probably understand how it is possible for Dr. Moton not to be "worried about the so-called Lily-White situation in the South." He, perhaps, does not know what it's all about, or he may think that the country and the race would be better off by eliminating the Negro from political leadership, or he may just think so because the President of the United States and Walter F. Brown, the Postmaster General, say so.

And while it is true that we have a deal of respect for Dr. Moton's opinion, in a business way, but in the face of the announced policy of the National administration, as stated by President Hoover and Postmaster General, Walter F. Brown, we beg to differ with the head of Tuskegee Institute as to what the Negroes may hope for and expect in the future.

Judging from his statement that there ought to be, on the "patronage" committees in each state, a Negro representative, it is reasonable to presume that Dr. Moton acquiesced to the appointment of such committees. As for us, we would ask, why a patronage committee in Georgia, and not in North Carolina, why such a committee in Mississippi and not in Texas, and why a "patronage" committee in South Carolina and not in Florida? We wonder if Dr. Moton ever stopped to think of these things, or is he sounding an optimistic note on his return from the White House just to please President Hoover and Walter F. Brown.

CLAUDIUS HART HUSTON of Chattanooga, Tennessee, chairman of the Transcontinental Oil Company, director of the International Germanic Trust Company of New York, sometime Assistant Secretary of the Department of Commerce, and now, by the grace of Mr. Hoover, chairman of the Republican National Committee, is out to hold the Republicans of the South in line for the Presidential election of 1932 and will tackle the job in earnest as soon as he has divested himself of his various business interests. The South is to have from 53 to 100 more delegates in the Republican convention in 1932 than it had in 1928, the exact number depending upon whether or not the delegates are apportioned according to the new Congressional apportionment act. The ground of hope, according to a statement by Mr. Huston, is the fact that the South "has shown that it is gradually turning to the Republican Party due to the growth of that region industrially and its dependence on protective principles." A good deal would seem to depend, therefore, upon the fate of the Smoot-Hawley tariff bill, but it will be strange if the judicious allotment of some millions of federal money in aid of the Southern cotton growers does not help some. What with considerable unpleasantness in Republican circles in Georgia, South Carolina, Florida, and Mississippi, and the burden of paying some attention to the Rt. Rev. James Cannon, Jr., and his prohibition friends, Mr. Huston has his task cut out for him.

GAZETTE
TRENTON, N. J.

OCT 26 1928

NEGRO REPUBLICANS HEAR CANDIDATES

The Thirteenth Ward Colored Republican Club conducted a rally meeting last night in Sunlight Elks' auditorium on Fowler Street. The session was well attended and much enthusiasm was evinced for the party ticket. Windom Green was chairman.

Speakers included Walter H. Olden, candidate for Sheriff; Irving Lewis, who spoke for Surrogate Samuel Haverstick; Freeholder George H. Barlow, Assembly candidates Eberhard Vollmer, D. Lane Powers and Daniel A. Spair; Coroner nominees Herbert K. Davenport and Walter Swayze, Louis Angelo, Dr. W. J. Gibbs and Aaron J. Swan.

The Nighthawk Orchestra furnished music for dancing. Luncheon was served by Caterer Samuel Brown.

Negroes Will Be Factors In Many Political Drives

Washington—Seeking reelection in 1930 will be thirteen Democratic senators and nineteen Republicans, of whom more than half must face a considerable number of Negro voters.

The Republicans coming from districts where the Negro votes count heavily are Senators Arthur Capper of Kansas, who must face a constituency of approximately 50,000 colored voters; Senator Jas. Couzens, of Michigan, where there are 60,000 colored voters; Senator Walter E. Edge's successor, of New Jersey, where the colored vote totals more than 90,000; Senator Frederick Gillett, of Massachusetts, which has 40,000; Senator Charles S. Deneen, of Illinois, with 150,000; Senator Guy D. Goff, of West Virginia, with 60,000; Senator Daniel O. Hastings, of Delaware, with 25,000; Senator George W. Norris, of Nebraska, with 25,000, and Senator Frederick M. Sackett, of Kentucky with 160,000.

Political - 1929

Party Affiliation

Republican

THE VIRGINIA FIGHT

The Republican party is making a desperate fight to elect Dr. Brown, candidate of the fusion Republicans and dissatisfied Democrats of Virginia.

In making their fight the Republicans are appealing to the white voters of Virginia. Frankly and candidly, because we are Negro we don't want to like this. Because we are Negro our impulse makes us feel that appeals for votes should be made to all potential voters without regard to race, color, class or condition.

Supposing now that we forget for the time being that we are Negro and consider the Virginia situation from a naked political point of view.

In that case we ask; Can Virginia be carried for Brown the Republican candidate by any other appeal than that now being made by the Republicans of Virginia? *Herold Commonwealth*

Virginia voted for Hoover in 1928 the first time she has cast her Electoral vote for a Republican since 1872 at which time Negroes had been given the franchise and voted.

Since the disfranchisement of Negroes by the Democratic "undersbanding" clause the Republican vote in Virginia except in the mountain section has been negligible.

Hence, for fifty-six years Virginia Republicanism has meant nothing to the party except delegates to the National convention every four years.

Practical Republican leaders therefore justly conclude that if there is any hope, any chance to win Virginia to Republicanism it is through appeals to Democrats who have become weary of seeing and hearing nothing but Negro in their politics and voting their prejudices.

Conditions are ripe in Virginia and other States of the heretofore "Solid South" to undermine the Democratic party and build up a strong, aggressive, Republican party.

In those states for the past seventy-five years there has been but one issue, the Negro. Democratic demagogues—demagogues are always Democrats—have ridden into office year after year, campaign after campaign on the Negro issue, stirring the fires of racial hatred and keeping racial prejudice ever before the white voter.

These demagogues after disfranchising the Negro by the infamous "understanding" clause, have notwithstanding exhausted every device to keep him in politics as a scare crow through jim crow and similar discriminatory laws. The last stand was the "racial integrity" law and the law requiring racial segregation in public gatherings.

There seems to be nothing left them now about which to bellow "Nigger" on the stump.

And the Republican leaders of Virginia have shrewdly planned their campaign upon issues which leave the Democrats no excuse to play up the Negro.

If the Republicans win the victory will be one over which the colored citizens of Virginia will have cause to rejoice.

It will mean the disintegration of the old Negro hat Democratic party of the South, the establishment of the two party system which in time will include all voters regardless of race.

It is the duty of colored voters to join in the effort to achieve this revolution in Southern politics.

It means betterment for the race in every way.

Chairman Flanders and Party Regularity

The Republican State Central Committee consists of seventy-one members regularly elected at the Republican State Convention March 3rd, 1928, and George Fred Flanders is the regular State Chairman. Roscoe Pickett was elected at the regular State Convention in March, 1928, but was removed for cause in July, 1928.

The rules governing the party in the state make the Republican State Central Committee the party between delegated conventions, which meet biennially. During the intervals between conventions the Committee is clothed with every power and authority of the Republican people of the state. This authority includes power to discipline its members, fill vacancies, and do whatever is for the best interests of the party generally.

The rules provide that for certain offenses against the integrity and authority of the Committee, memberships may be declared vacant without charge or trial. In the discharge of its duty, the Executive Committee of the Republican State Central Committee, which is clothed with the full power and authority of the full committee between its meetings, removed Mr. Pickett from office and declared his membership on the Committee vacant. At a later meeting of the full committee, it ratified the actions of the Executive Committee. Vice Chairman Rose was present and presided at the meeting in which Mr. Pickett was removed. He not only presided but ruled that the Executive Committee was acting within its legal authority and rights. At this same meeting Mr. Flanders was unanimously elected to succeed Mr. Pickett, removed. B. J. Davis nominated Mr. Rose for the position, but he declined on the grounds that it would conflict with his duties as Collector of Internal Revenue. He voted with the rest of us for Mr. Flanders on roll call. These proceedings are regular and authentic, and from these actions there is no appeal.

November 17, 1928, Mr. Flanders was nominated for National Committeeman to succeed B. J. Davis, declined. The vacancy was caused by failure of the National Committee at Kansas City to elect a Georgia member. The rules provide that wherever a vacancy occurs in any state or territory, the state committee of the state in which the vacancy occurs shall nominate a candidate and the National Committee shall ratify.

The National Committee is without power to nominate but must act upon the recommendation of the state committee in the state or territory where the vacancy exists.

Mr. Flanders is the choice of the Republicans of Georgia and the National Committee has been legally notified and can have no reason for failure to act, except to defeat the expressed will of a sovereign state. Mr. Flanders is mentally and morally fit and the Committee has no discretion in the matter, except it expects to outlaw the political rights of the people of Georgia.

It is reported that Mr. Flanders is too friendly to the Negro; that he is dominated by Ben Davis. Now, what are the facts? Admitting for the sake of the argument that these charges are true, what difference does it make since the people of Georgia are satisfied? But, it is no more true of Mr. Flanders than of any other white Republican in Georgia. Ben Davis does not, and has never had, the desire to dominate anybody in politics. The very men who have made this representation to Washington are just as much controlled by Ben Davis as Mr. Flanders. Hon. J. T. Rose is Vice Chairman of the Republican organization in the state because Ben Davis helped him. L. H. Crawford is Marshal because Ben Davis favored him over the combined opposition of the organization. Messrs. Hager, Duke, Rose, and every other white man in the organization are there because Ben Davis supported them and they will confess it. Some of these men have charged that Mr. Flanders was the tool of Ben Davis, and that Ben Davis controlled the party by proxies. Every one of the men who carried these bones to Washington have been in the habit of giving Ben Davis their proxies without his solicitation. Mr. Flanders has never given Ben Davis his proxy. He never has asked Ben Davis for an endorsement or any other favor. He has never consulted him about his vote, except in conference of Republicans when a policy or program was being laid out. Every one of the fellows who have told Washington that Ben Davis was a bandit have sought his support and indorsement.

The party in the state is behind Mr. Flanders because he is regular and represents organized Republicanism in the state. We challenge the tale-bearers to the contrary.

The organization makes this proposition to test whether the Republicans of Georgia are with Flanders or Pickett: Let Messrs. Flanders and Pickett issue separate calls for meetings of the Committee, and if 90 per cent of the members do not attend the Flanders meeting, he will resign; and if 90 per cent of them attend the Flanders meeting, will Pickett relinquish any claim to the Chairmanship he may have legally or otherwise?

Regularity won in 1924 and it will win in 1932. Sink or swim live or die, we will rest our case on party regularity as established in 1868 and adhered to until 1928. The effort to build a party on federal patronage will fail now as it did in 1921 and 1923. Parties thrive on principle but die on patronage.

The Republican National Committee

The Republican National Committee met Monday and did its work. The meeting was unusual in several respects.

First, it was unusual because of its early meeting, in the light of precedent; and in the resignation of its chairman so soon after such a glorious victory.

Secondly, because of the policy of the man chosen to succeed the retiring chairman. Mr. Huston has the reputation of being opposed to the Negro in politics, and who favors the organization of a lily white party in the South. The fact that the President should come to the South for a party head is at least suspicious of adapting a policy in accordance with Mr. Huston's views.

Thirdly, taking the political views of the retiring chairman and comparing them with the well known views of the incoming chairman, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that Dr. Work was asked to step aside that the President might head the party with a man whose views coincided with his. It is an open secret that the Race question is giving the Administration at Washington much concern.

The Negro has been a potent factor in party affairs since General Grant was president, and the effort of the present administration to sidetrack him is universally resented, and the Negro regards the selection of Mr. Huston as head of the party as the first step in the effort to eliminate him from the party of his freedom and of his fathers.

The Democratic Party is a race party and not a part of the Republican Party to imitate the Democratic Party by eliminating him. It is generally believed that Dr. Work was asked to step aside as he did not take to the idea of lilywhiteism, and the selection of Mr. Huston as his successor at a time when there was nothing for the party to do gives color to the general belief that the President is committed to the Democratic policy of eliminating the black man from party affairs on the grounds of race, color, and previous condition of servitude.

The meeting Monday means far more than the accepting of a resignation and the filling of a vacancy. The Administration has a vision, possibly to keep the Solid South broken, and if the loyalty and patriotism of the Negro is the price the party must pay the white South for the goods, it looks like the party is about ready to make the sacrifice of the political rights of thirteen millions people.

The refusal of the Committee to carry out the mandate of the sovereign National Convention assembled at Kansas City in the Georgia case is another incident of unusual significance, and is in harmony with some unexplained policy of the Administration at Washington.

But, the Committee has met and has done its work, and it remains for the country to see what is the real significance of what is an apparent reorganization of the National Committee within one year after its selection by the sovereign people in convention assembled. It is a question that challenges the very essence of the Negro's political rights in this country. His constitutional rights are challenged. The Democratic Party has denied him, in the South, his rights as a citizen, and it seems that the Republican Party in denying him his rights and privileges as a party man. The Negro is loathe to sever his relations with the Republican Party, but if the Republican Party undertakes to eliminate him and to disfranchise him within the party, as the Democratic Party has done as an elector throughout the South, then it is clearly up to the Negro to choose between the two evils; whether he will continue to cast his lot with those who have assassinated him in his party home, or make the best bargain he can with those who have assaulted him politically from the front.

If the present administration wants two parties in the South and has decided that the Negro is the flaw in the lock, the Negro had as well accept the challenge and contribute in the best way he can by dividing his vote between the two great parties, and make for the balance of power between these two agencies of government, and cast his lot independently on every occasion with that party which affords him the best opportunity to make his living and to exercise his constitutional rights.

The action of the National Committee last Monday was unusually significant, and those who think and read between the lines cannot well escape the conclusion but what its ultimate purpose is a blow at Negro suffrage.

Mann Is Likely Junk 'Big Three' To Be Renamed Is Object In Effort To Retain South By Republicans

Huston Probably Will Appoint Him As South-

By RUSSELL KENT
Staff Correspondent.
WASHINGTON, Sept. 12—Col. Horace B. Mann, who was commander of the southern division of the Republican national committee last year is to return to Georgia to head the G. O. P. councils

and is to be given his old authority in the revived party organization now that Claudius H. Huston has been made chairman of the national committee, according to current gossip in Washington.

If it be true that Huston, who claims Chattanooga as home is to restore Col. Mann, formerly from Knoxville in the same state, to power, the inference would be that the new party chairman is going to try to junk the "big three" of Southern patronage—Postmaster General Brown; Walter Newton, secretary to the president; and J. Francis Burke, parliamentarian of the national committee—in favor of the advisory committee plan which Mann proposed and Mr. Hoover endorsed so enthusiastically last spring but which has not been made to function.

Would Hold Grip On South.

Also, it would mean that the G. O. P. national committee is determined to make a real thrust to retain a foothold in the South.

The advisory committee idea, by which each southern patronage referee was to surround himself with a committee to pass on recommendations for appointments to Federal offices, the committee to be composed of old-line Republicans and Hoovercrats "Democrats" was put in operation only in Florida, and it has not produced harmony there. In South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi where the Republican organizations were repudiated, the Brown-Newton-Burke combination formed its own contacts. In Alabama, National Committeeman Oliver D. Street said he wanted no advisory committee and the issue was not forced. It was not proposed for Tennessee.

With Mann back in power, through Huston who was made national committee chairman by Presidential persuasion and against silent protest of the national committeemen it is entirely likely the advisory committee plan would be revived with a bang.

Street Stands High.

Judge Street stands high with the administration and he would not be kicked in the face by having an advisory committee forced upon him. But there is such a thing as kicking a man upstairs. Street wants to be a judge of the United States Court of Claims. It is very likely he will be appointed. Action will come within about three weeks after Attorney General Mitchell returns from vacation. With Street a judge in Washington what more natural than a new patronage referee for Alabama with an advisory committee to help him? Mann is very close to Joseph O. Thompson who once proposed a list of nine names for this Alabama committee.

Mann did not have much to do with the campaign in Tennessee last year. The Chicago office of the G. O. P. sent a representative to the Volunteer state, but largely affairs were left to Congressman J. Will Taylor, national committeeman and patronage referee. No patronage advisory committee was proposed for Tennessee originally, but National Chairman Huston and Taylor have not agreed in the past, and over patronage matters at that, so a move to clip Taylor's power in some manner would not be surprising under the new

une-up. As for trying to keep Texas and Virginia and Tennessee and Florida and North Carolina Republican as probably will be an object of the new chairman and Col. Mann, it is to be recalled that although these five states went for Hoover electors last November, each elected Democratic state and national officers at the same time, with the exception of a few scattered congressional districts which strayed under the weight of the anti-Smith movement.

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Republican

Party Affiliation

For Party Recognition and Party Regularity We Fight

Atlanta Independent
It is the same old fight, over again, we had in 1921 with the Harding Administration for party recognition and regularity. The present administration is undertaking to do the same thing through patronage committees that the Harding administration undertook to do in 1921 through rump organization—the elimination of the Negro from party councils and to make democratic disfranchisement complete and permanently effectual. President Harding undertook to build a lily white party by wrecking the regular party organization, by organizing a white man's party upon the ruins of the regular organization and dispensing federal patronage through it. But, the purpose was to get rid of the Negro in politics.

The Hoover people think the better plan is to not interfere with the regular party organization, but to organize patronage committees composed of lily whites and Hoover democrats and to dish out the patronage to white folks only through them, accomplishing the same purpose Harding had in mind—the elimination of the Negro from party politics, or in other words joining the democrats in the complete and effectual disfranchisement of the Negro. *Atlanta, Ga.*

The policy of the Harding and Hoover administrations is in complete harmony with the southern democrats' idea of the Negro's political rights—none that a white man is bound by law or otherwise to respect. Both, the administration in 1921 and the present administration in 1929, have a common purpose, to destroy the organization in Georgia of fifty years standing by taking the patronage away from it. Both place patronage above principle, and calculated that if they took the patronage from the party, it would give up in despair and die, and the lily whites would inherit the earth without organized effort.

But, each reckoned without their host when they placed "pie" above principle and concluded that there was nothing in the party worth living for after you stripped it of the emoluments of war. This administration, like the Harding administration, can keep the patronage to buy lily whites and pie-hunting democrats with, but the party will preserve the principles of the party intact until 1932, as it did in 1924, and will take the banner to the next Republican National Convention as it did to Cleveland in 1924, and the results will be the same—the lily whites and pie-hunting democrats will be turned out and the regular organization recognized as it has been since 1878, when Buck, Loche, Clark, Lyons, Deveaux, Pledger, Pleasant, McHenry, Long, Love, Head, Wright, Rucker, Harris, Farrow, and Brown carried the banner of Lincoln, McKinley, Hanna and Roosevelt.

This fight cannot be won by one man. It will take every man who believes in the principles of the party to carry the fight over the top. The Independent cannot do everything by itself. It takes money to make the mare run, and the Independent calls on every republican in the state to come over in Macedonia and help out. Let every county and district chairman raise some money and send it to B. J. Davis to keep the home fires burning. Any amount from a dollar up will be appreciated. It is not B. J. Davis' fight; it is the people's fight, and the people should fight their own battles. He who would be free must strike the first blow for liberty.

Ben Davis led the fight in 1921 until we won the victory at Cleveland in 1924, and is willing to lead it now until we win in 1932, but he cannot win it alone. He ought to have the help and prayers of those for whom he fights. The same Ohio influences are directing the forces

of evil against us that directed them in 1921, and let us marshal our forces to win under Coolidge, or another apostle of equal opportunities for all just like him.

The Administration has taken from the party in the state its birthright, and given it to aliens, and we must not yield one inch but fight to the bitter end. If we are defeated, we are victorious because we are right. Errors cannot long prevail over right. Victory is ours, if we fight for it. It takes brain and money to win this fight, and we have both. All we have to do is to focalize our resources. Lets mobilize our forces!

G. O. P. Ended Negro Vote Row Little Too Late

Tinkham Amendment Is Eliminated From Census Bill

Realized Blunder And Measure Passes Sans Proposed Changes

By RUSSELL KENT
Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, June 6.—Using every ounce of political pressure after realizing their previous blunder, Republican leaders of the House Thursday drove sufficient G. O. P. votes to the aid of the embittered Southern Democrats to eliminate from the census and reapportionment bill the Tinkham amendment which was intended to force full negro voting in the South and also eliminate the Hoch amendment to drop aliens from the census count as a basis for representation in the House and in the presidential electoral college.

Some such strategy as that adopted was expected, for the Republican leaders realized, after the Tinkham amendment had been adopted in committee of the whole Tuesday, that its effect would be to drive the Southern states back into the Democratic fold and withdraw whatever penetration the Republicans accomplished last Fall in the South.

Remedied Too Late

But most observers agree the situation was remedied too late to be of service to the Republican party. Southern Democrats now know that the Republicans are willing to attempt to force full negro suffrage upon the South regardless of constitutional election laws in every Southern state.

Some move, however, had to be made

to save the reapportionment bill from defeat, for it faced certain defeat if voted on in the House proper with either the negro enfranchisement amendment or the alien amendment attached to it. It was Representative Tinkham, of Connecticut Republican floor leader, who left the movement to save the pieces. He offered an amendment in committee of the whole striking out the entire reapportionment section of the bill including all amendments and substituting language to the same effect but lacking the alien and negro amendments. This was adopted 213 to 102, without a record vote as the roll is not called in committee of the whole but the members file by tellers and are counted.

After that, the fight reverted to a plain proposal of enacting legislation for automatic reapportionment of the House membership after the next census, and held itself out as entirely distinct from the taking of that census, so that the subsequent roll calls, taken in the House proper do not reflect the sentiment of the membership in the exact form expressed on the eliminated amendments. The bill was passed by a comfortable margin, as expected if the obnoxious amendments were out of it. It goes to conference with a committee of the Senate to adjust relatively minor differences between the two branches of Congress. If the census count supports the estimates which have been made, Alabama and Tennessee will lose one member of the House each, and consequently one vote in the presidential electoral college. Mississippi will lose two members and in all there will be 23 shifts in House seats and electoral college votes.

EFFORT OF WHITES TO OUTLAW RACE ORDER DEFEATED

Norfolk Journal and Guide
Supreme Court Holds

That Protest Came Too Late

SWEEPING VICTORY

Lodges Throughout T Country Affected By Decision

Special to Journal and Guide

Washington, D. C., June 4.—Holding that the white Shriners were guilty of inexcusable delay in asserting their rights and had acquiesced in the existence of the colored order, the Supreme Court of the United States Monday reversed the courts of Texas which had enjoined colored Shriners from using the name, emblems and insignia of the order throughout the United States.

The opinion of the court was delivered by Justice Van Devanter. After reviewing the history of both orders, the opinion of the court which was quite lengthy reads in part:

"There is no evidence of a fraudulent intent on the part of the Negro order, of a purpose on its part to induce anyone, whether mason or non-mason, to believe that it was the white order or that they were part of the same fraternity. On the contrary, it is shown that the Negro order always held itself out as entirely distinct from the white order and as open only to members of the Negro masonic fraternity. True, there was much imitation, but this is shown to have been in the nature of emulation rather than false pretense."

The evidence discloses that the Negro order promptly entered its constitution in the Congressional Library under an act of Congress providing for the adjustment of relatively minor differences between the two branches of Congress. It wore its insignia as indicative of its existence and their membership; and that at its yearly national meeting the members in large numbers marched in public parades wearing their regalia. "Thus it is established that from the beginning the white order had knowledge of the existence and imitative acts and practices of the Negro order. In addition, the evidence indubitably shows that with such knowledge the white order silent stood by for many years while the Negro order was continuing its imitative acts, enlarging its membership, acquiring real property in its corporate name, and investing substantial sums in the copied paraphernalia, regalia and emblems.

"The effect on the Negro order of silent and apparent acquiescence of the white order is reflected in the fact that when this suit was brought the former had 76 local lodges, approximately 9,000 members and real and personal property valued at approximately \$600,000, which was held and used for fraternal and charitable purposes.

"What we have said of the evidence demonstrates, as we think, not only that there was obvious and long continuing laches on the part of the white order, but also that the circumstances were such that its laches barred it from asserting an exclusive right or seeking equitable relief, as against the Negro order.

"As it is apparent that had this

view of the question of laches prevailed in the State court the federal right set up by the Negro order must have been sustained, the decrees must be reversed and the cause remanded for further proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion."

COLORED HOOVERITES EASILY PLEASED

E. J. Davis, Colored, has been appointed to succeed T. L. Jones, Colored, deceased district attorney in Washington, D. C. The Capitol News Service "points with pride" to the appointment of one Colored man to succeed another and says:

Particular significance attaches itself to this appointment, the first important place to be filled by a Negro under the new administration, inasmuch as it puts to rout completely the rumor that the race leaders of the Hoover campaign were to be disregarded in the distribution of patronage. It is hailed as a signal victory for race leaders of the regular organization Republicans and pre-convention Hooverites."

If Messrs John Hawkins, Emmett Scott, Robert Vann and the others who whooped them up for Hoover consider this a "signal victory" they are very easily satisfied.

Maybe they can get more encouragement from this: Dr. Hubert Work, Col. Horace Mann; Col. Wm. Donoran and Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt did yeoman service for Mr. Hoover in the recent campaign but since the election they have passed off the scene one by one and are sunk in oblivion.

If that was the fate of leading pre-election WHITE Hooverites what attention will be given the leading Black Hooverites? Time will tell.

CHATHAM G. O. P. INDORSES NEGRO AND WHITE MAN

Savannah, Ga., April 3.—(P)—The republican organization here, known as the Chatham County Republican Committee, of which J. C. Benson, a negro lawyer, is chairman, met tonight and indorsed W. S. Safford, white, an insurance agent for postmaster, and W. H. Kerkelley, negro, for collector of the port. The great majority of those present were negroes.

FACTIONAL FIGHT PREVENTS NEGRO APPOINTMENTS

Hoover Favors Reward-
ing Faithful Repub-
licans

UNOFFICIAL WORD

Campaign Promises
Not Being Fulfilled
However

Washington, D. C.—Unofficial word comes from the White House that President Hoover is favorably disposed to the political aspirations of colored people and would reward those who have been faithful to the Republican party but is hindered by factional differences among them.

In addition to the traditional places under Republican administrations, it was predicted that President Hoover would make appointments to positions never before held by colored men. At least, those who had authority to speak for him in the campaign made such promises.

These promises are not being fulfilled. Those holding Presidential of-

fices have not been disturbed, but in four months not a single colored man has been appointed to office by the President.

Three minor appointments have been made by Cabinet officers, two to fill vacancies caused by the death of incumbents, the third because there was no alternative.

Emory A. Bryant Jr. was appointed an assistant chief clerk at large in the railway mail service by Postmaster General Walter F. Brown. He succeeded the late John D. Galney. This forestalled all political activity in regard to the choice of a successor to Galney. Second Assistant Postmaster General Warren Irving Glover explained that the promotion of Bryant was based on merit.

Other Appointments

Ernest J. Davis, a young man, was appointed to succeed the late Thomas L. Jones as an assistant United States attorney for the District of Columbia. This appointment was made by Attorney General William D. Mitchell upon the recommendation of United States Attorney Leo A. Rover. It has no special political significance. Mr. Davis was endorsed by the leaders of the District of Columbia Republican organization. His appointment is credited to Dr. Emmett J. Scott and John R. Hawkins.

Thornton G. Nightingale was postmaster at Blenheim, Albemarle County, Va. This is a fourth class post office.

There are only five colored men holding commissions from the Presidents of the United States. They were appointed by either President Harding or President Coolidge and continued in office by President Hoover. They are William T. Francis, minister to Liberia; Charles W. Anderson, collector of internal revenue, New York; Walter L. Cohen, collector of customs at New Orleans, La.; Judge James A. Cobb of the municipal court of the District of Columbia and Arthur G. Froe, recorder of deeds of the District of Columbia.

No successor to Perry W. Howard, former \$6,000 a year special assistant to the Attorney General, has been chosen. Robert L. Vann of Pittsburgh Pa., was the choice of colored Republicans for the place, but the Attorney General has not yet made an appointment. There is only one colored attorney in the Department of Justice, Louis R. Mehlinger, who came from a clerkship.

A NEW POLITICAL PARTY

Announcement of the organization of a new national political party comes from New York. A League for Independent Political Action has been formed to help organize the new party. Prof. John Dewey of Columbia University, is chairman of the league.

According to the announcement, a national committee of 100 has been formed to start the movement in opposition to the Republican and Democratic parties.

Among the league's aims, as set forth in the announcement, are public ownership of public utilities, unemployment relief, health insurance, old age pensions, relief for the farmer on virtually a free-trade basis; high progressive taxes on incomes, inheritances and increases in land values;

abolition of "yellow dog" contracts and injunctions in labor disputes; independence of the Philippines, and non-restriction of Negro and immigrant labor suffrage.

Officers of the league include James Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor; Zona Gale, Wisconsin author; Paul H. Douglas, professor of industrial relations of the University of Chicago, and W. E. B. Du Bois, of New York, Negro educator.

While the movement is intended as one to organize a new national party, it could hardly be expected to command any great national following on the strength of its aims, or even any sectional following of any size.

PAVE WAY FOR OWN UNDOING IN SELECTION

Huston Noncommittal
on Race Question

Washington, D. C., Sept. 13.—Significance is attached in political circles to the failure of Robert R. Church, political leader of Memphis, Tenn., to attend the meeting of the Republican national committee here Monday.

Claudius H. Huston of Tennessee was elected chairman. Church is a regular attendant at meetings of the Republican national committee.

His failure to attend this one is attributed to his opposition to Huston whose election was assured because President Hoover wished him to be chosen to succeed Dr. Hubert Work. Church has been allied with Representative J. Wall Taylor in Tennessee politics. Huston has been opposed to this alliance, but the lily-white faction, with whom he fought, was never able to dethrone Church and Taylor.



R. R. Church

With Huston in as chairman there may be a signing of a truce with Church and Taylor. The Race vote in Tennessee is the balance of power in that state. Church is ruthless in his politics. If the situation demands it he would just as soon make a combination with the Democrats and swing the vote to the Democratic party as to control it for the Republican party.

Dr. Work knows this. In the last presidential campaign he questioned Church about a charge that he had voted 25,000 citizens for the Democratic candidate in a senatorial election. Church's answer was: "Yes, I voted them, and have no apologies to make for it, and will vote them again."

With this known attitude of Church, Huston may not want to endanger the holding of the South in the Republican fold. He may make peace with Church and Taylor, letting them run Tennessee politics as they see fit.

No action was taken at the meeting of the national committee on the Georgia situation. Huston told Mrs. George S. Williams, the Republican national committeewoman for that state, that he wanted to see her.

Mrs. Williams Ignored

Mrs. Williams also wants to see him. She is demanding a voice in patronage matters in Georgia. In the nine years she has been on the committee she has never been regarded in patronage matters. While Henry Lincoln Johnson was the national committeeman he was the sole referee in patronage matters. After his death Benjamin J. Davis, who succeeded him, made recommendations for appointments to federal offices in that state and showed Mrs. Williams no consideration in such matters.

Davis withdrew all claims to the national committeemanship after he and Joseph H. Watson of Albany, Ga., had fought for the place and the Republican national convention at Kansas City in June, 1928, failed to confirm the selection of either of them. That left Mrs. Williams the sole member of the national committee from Georgia, and she is basing her request for recognition in the distribution of federal patronage in her state upon that fact. A committee of white men is handling patronage in Georgia.

The reported resignation of Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman for Mississippi was not tendered at this meeting. Mr. Howard was present and was treated with all the courtesy that any other member of the committee received. Mrs. Mary C. Booze, the national committeewoman for Mississippi, was not present. Her husband, Eugene P. Booze, was here.

Mr. Howard and Mrs. Williams voted for the election of Huston. After the meeting of the committee Mr. Howard expressed himself as pleased with the selection of Huston and the trend of political events at present. He would not, however, vouch for the attitude of the new chairman toward our Race. He said that he could not predict what the new chairman would or would not do.

Huston told Howard that he wanted to have a talk with him at his first opportunity.

Truce in Sight

Political-1929

Party Affiliation.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Public Ledger

JUN 6 1929

PLAYING WITH FIRE

THE Southern and Western members of the House, in seeking to maintain the disproportionate representation of these rural States over the rapidly growing urban sections, have been playing with fire. They forced into the reapportionment bill an amendment excluding aliens from the count upon which membership in the House is to be based. It is difficult to see how they hope to reconcile that move with the provision in the Fourteenth Amendment that representation shall be based on "the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed." But that is not the worst result of the controversy.

The sequel proved that the Southern members should have been the last to propose such restriction. For it directed attention to the persistent disfranchisement of Negroes in many parts of the South, which is also emphasized by yesterday's decision of a Federal Judge in Richmond that the Virginia primary law is invalid because it prescribed qualifications for voters, contrary to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. The resentment over the move to exclude aliens resulted in the passage of a retaliatory amendment excluding nonvoting Negroes from the enumeration upon which representation is based. This would materially reduce the membership to which the South is entitled.

All this is unreasonable, contrary to the Constitution and is the fruit of bitter partisanship. Cooler judgment dictated a demand yesterday for reconsideration of both amendments, but it was blocked by a parliamentary dispute. It is to be hoped that the House will speedily check the dangerous propensity of some of its members for playing with fire as well as ignoring the mandates of the Constitution. Otherwise, there will be little prospect for an immediate ending of the disproportionate representation which has existed for nearly ten years.

REFORMING SOUTHERN REPUBLICANS.

Some of the friends and spokesmen of the Republican patronage system in the South have been expressing their horror at President Hoover's outright repudiation of the system's rottenness. They wonder whether the President isn't just a beginner in politics and whether he realizes the danger of what he is doing, especially the probability of alienating the Negro vote in pivotal States of the North. They are unable to see that any good at all can come out of the move to change conditions that have been let alone, for fear of the consequences, in the long years of but slightly broken dominance in the country.

Well, all of that was no doubt taken into account by the Nation's Chief Executive. Again, it might not have been. And still further, it does not matter in the least, so far as the principle is concerned. And there is a principle involved. It is the principle of political decency. The nature of the system that now stands condemned was well known. If at no other time, it had received an airing as regularly as the Republican party met in national convention. Then a Senate committee, for a good part of last Winter, was busy exposing the barter and sale of public offices, which the system had permitted and practiced.

The whole issue is clearly in the open. The country can pass upon its merits; very likely has done so already. Not half the outcry that might have been expected from the affected elements of the party has been heard. That probably is because it has been realized the protests would be futile. The issue is too plain. It commends itself too positively to the sense of decency of party members as well as of the general public. The rottenness

Republican.

will have to go. That's all. And the general approval of President Hoover's warning will undoubtedly more than counterbalance any possible unfavorable reaction to it.

OBSERVER

HOBOKEN, N. J.

JUN 17 1929

COLORED G. O. P. RAISES FINE FLAG

An elaborate program featured the flag raising held under the auspices of the Colored Men's Regular Republican Association, Inc., of Hudson 354 Forrest street, Saturday afternoon. It was attended by a large crowd. The banner, measuring six by ten feet, was a gift to the organization from United States Senator Hamilton F. Kean. C. Bion Jones is president of the club and is a candidate for Assemblyman.

The services started at 2 o'clock with the singing of "America" by the audience. It was followed with the invocation by Chaplain Robert Boswell. James Dixon was introduced as the master of ceremonies. A short address of welcome was delivered by President Jones.

A national negro anthem entitled "Lift Every Voice," was offered. A concise talk was given by J. E. Saunders. The donor of the flag was scheduled to present it, but he was unable to put in an appearance.

Among others that spoke were: Henry St. George, Edwin B. Holden, W. B. C. Chambers, Charles Finch, Jr., Charles F. Fimefreddo, James W. Roberson, M. Bashon Cruse and others.

After the exercises in the open, a committee served refreshments in the clubhouse. Dancing and games followed until a late hour. At sundown, the flag was lowered with fitting sentiment. Sunday School children and Boy Scouts also participated in the ceremonies which concluded with the singing of the national anthem.

The officers of the organization besides President Jones, are: Herber R. Williams, vice president; W. B. Kins, assistant secretary; Chambers, secretary, James Dixon treasurer, Robert Boswell, chaplain Osborn L. Perkins, assistant secretary and John Brightwell, sergeant at arms.

NEW YORK WORLD

JUN 18 1929

Chattanooga G. O. P. Disavows De Priest Lecture Project

Special Despatch to The World

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., June 17.—

When Congressman Oscar De Priest speaks in Chattanooga June 25 it will not be under the auspices of the Hamilton County Republican Club but rather under the sponsorship of a rather hazy recreational movement headed by the Rev. A. D. Williams, Negro pastor.

Last Saturday the local Negro paper carried a page advertisement of the De Priest visit giving credit to the Republican Club for bringing him.

The Republican Club had made all plans for welcoming De Priest. It had appointed a Chairman and committees on arrangements. Now their plans will be scrapped, the club will stay discreetly in the background and the colored Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., and Williams will welcome the Congressman and see to all the plans.

TRIBUNE
CONCORD, N. C.

JUN 20 1929

"FAIREST VISION" WRECKED.

"The fairest vision of fifty years has been wrecked."

This is the reaction of Bishop N. M. Dubose, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to the White House tea to which the wife of the negro Congressman from Illinois was invited by Mrs. Hoover. Bishop Dubose, it will be remembered, was one of the most ardent supporters of Mr. Hoover in the campaign last year, and he wielded wide influence in Tennessee for the Republican candidate.

The Winston-Salem Journal, which aided Mr. Hoover by its insistent and persistent attacks upon Governor Smith, thinks "the Bishop sums up the situation pretty accurately." The Journal believes Bishop Dubose "probably had reference to the hope that many white Republicans of the South had been entertaining since President Hoover's election

move. Such procedure will, of course, serve to alienate Southern white supporters of the President still further. What-ers of the President effectiveness the Hoover administration previously enjoyed in the South has been thoroughly dissipated. But now."

that the administration has taken such a decisive step toward establishing racial equality, it has forfeited the confidence of the many thousands of Southern people who voted for Hoover last fall. "Events subsequent to the now famous White House tea indicate that Congressmen and colored people who wrecked the vision of the South an man de Priest and colored people who share his ambitions mean to make the West, whose interests in many respects, most of this unfortunate social equality

Political - 1929

Party Affiliation.
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

REPUBLICAN

JUN 6 1929

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Some of the friends and spokesmen of the Republican patronage system in the South have been expressing their horror at President Hoover's outright repudiation of the system's rottenness. They were wondering whether the President isn't a beginner in politics and whether he realizes the danger of alienating the Negro in the Fourteenth Amendment that represents the pivotal States of the North. They are unable to see that any move to change conditions that have been let alone, for fear of the consequences, in the long years of the broken dominance in the country.

Well, all of that was no doubt taken into account by the Nation's Chief Executive. Again, it might not have been. And still further, it does not matter in the least, so far as the principle is concerned. And there is a principle involved. It is the principle of political expediency. The nature of the system of nonvoting Negroes, which is now condemned, is based. This well known. If at no other time, would materially reduce the membership to which the South is entitled. All this is unreasonable, contrary to the Constitution and is the fruit of bitter partisanship. Cooler judgment dictated a demand yesterday for reconsideration of both amendments, but it was blocked by a parliamentary dispute. It is to be hoped that the House will speedily check the dangerous propensity of some of its members for playing with fire as well as ignoring the mandates of the Constitution. Otherwise, there will be little prospect for an immediate ending of the disproportionate representation which has existed for nearly ten years.

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Mr. Hoover in the campaign last year, besides President Jones, are: Herber R. Williams, vice president; W. B. C. Chambers, assistant secretary; James Dixon, treasurer; Robert Boswell, chaplain; Osborn L. Perkins, assistant secretary; and John Brightwell, sergeant at arms.

The Winston-Salem Journal, which persisted attacks upon Governor Smith, thinks "the Bishop sums up the situation pretty accurately." The Journal believes Bishop Dubose "probably had reference to the hope that many white Republicans of the South had been entertaining since President Hoover's election

that the Republican party in the South are identical, as beneficiaries of an administration, which it was hoped would not be tied body and soul to the powerful industrial and business, East. But now that the administration has taken such a decisive step toward establishing racial equality, it has forfeited the confidence and support of the many thousands of Southern people who voted for Hoover last fall." It says:

The injection of the race issue in this sudden and peculiar manner has also wrecked the vision of the South and man de Priest and colored people who West, whose interests in many respect share his ambitions mean to make the most of this unfortunate social equality

JUN 17 1928

Harlem Negroes Ask A More Liberal Split In Party Patronage

Contending that \$50,000 worth of Republican patronage goes to whites and only \$6,000 annually to Negroes in the 21st A. D., Harlem, Negro leaders yesterday took steps to get a more even break in patronage. They assert that the district should come entirely under their control.

Robert S. Conklin, Assistant Attorney General, who has tired of fighting each year to maintain his grip as leader, is backing a plan to divide the district into a black and a white zone. Mrs. E. Hortense Warner, Negro, of 145 E. 142d st., is opposing the plan in the belief that the Negroes would not get their due share of patronage for the whole district if their control were segregated in one part.

NEW YORK TIMES

OCT 8 1929

NEGROES FORM BODY TO SUPPORT WALKER

170, Including J. W. Johnson, E. K. Jones and Du Bois, Are Nucleus of Committee.

BOOKLET LAUDS FAIRNESS

Cites \$7,000,000 Improvements in Harlem and Gain in Negro Job Holders in Urging Re-election.

The Republicans, not so long ago in control of the negro vote in this city, will be confronted with the necessity of fighting for every negro vote cast in the Mayoralty election this year, if the Colored Citizens Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Mayor Walker has its way.

The nucleus of the new organization is a citizens' committee composed of 170 negroes of prominence, among whom are James Weldon Johnson, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Eugene K. Jones, executive secretary of the National Urban League, and W. E. B. Du

Bois, editor of The Crisis. Roy Lancaster, secretary-treasurer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, is chairman of the Non-Partisan Committee.

Announcement was made yesterday that a campaign booklet, the title-page of which bears the legend: "New York City is the finest spot in America for the negro," was being distributed in a 50,000 edition among negroes in the city. The booklet sounds the praises of the Walker administration for the fairness displayed to the negroes in the public schools and other city institutions, including public hospitals; for \$7,000,000 worth of improvements made under Mayor Walker in the negro section of Harlem and for the increase in the number of negroes appointed to city jobs.

The book contains pages of statistics showing the number of appointments made, year by year, and the amount of salary drawn by the several negro appointees, ranging down from \$7,500, received by Ferdinand Q. Morton, a Hyman appointee, recently reappointed by Mayor Walker for another six-year term as member of the Municipal Civil Service Commission. The booklet in its final chapter declares that the number of negro appointees has increased greatly since he has been holding this job.

"With the Walker Administration, behind Mr. Morton, we can expect to see more and more negroes receiving various city positions; it is up to the negro voter to do his part by standing by the Walker Administration," is added. The booklet also reprints an editorial by Mr. DuBois in which Representative Fiorello H. La Guardia, the Republican nominee for Mayor, is charged with indifference to the welfare of the negroes during his service in Congress.

"The number of negro employees has increased 955 per cent since Mayor Walker entered and there are now seventeen times more negro city employees than when the Republican-Fusion Administration went out of office in 1917," a statement issued by the committee says. "These negro employees now number 2,275 and draw aggregate salary of \$3,852,375."

SEVEN, OCT. 1929

TO HOLD MEETING IN ATLANTA DECEMBER

White Republican Party in Every State in the South

FORECAST OF FLORIDIAN

Judge Calloway Sees a Political Revolution

Atlanta, Oct. 18 (AP).—A "White" Republican party in every state in the South was forecast here tonight by Judge E. E. Calloway, Florida Republican leader, who early this week announced from Washington a conference of white Republican leaders in Atlanta in the near future.

Judge Calloway declared that a strong Georgia Republican party will be the outgrowth of the meet-

ing here. The Florida Republican leader said a militant, "Lilly White" party through reorganization of the present party will be built with membership limited.

Judge Calloway said that "not only in Georgia will such an aggressive Republican organization be created," but there will be a similar organization "in every state in the South."

"The forces which in the last presidential race for the first time broke through the Solid South, will unite to promulgate and quicken as a political factor the principles advocated by them in the Hoover-Smith race," he said.

The movement has the support of the W. C. T. U., the Anti-Saloon League and the Ku-Klux Klan, the Florida jurist said, and representatives of each organization have been invited to attend the Atlanta meeting.

Judge Calloway declared the South is ripe for a political revolution, and forecast a South as solidly Republican as the New England states.

Col. Horace Mann of Tennessee, aided by a committee of Southern Republicans, is now compiling a list of those who will be invited to attend the Atlanta meeting, Judge Calloway said.

Call for the meeting, which probably will be held in December, will be issued next week, he said.

SEVEN, OCT. 1929

Exclusive White Republican Party To Be Organized

Macon News Says Party Movement Will Be Under Leadership of Mann.

MACON, Ga., Oct. 15 (AP).—The News today says that organization of an exclusively white Republican party in the South will be effected in a convention to be held within the next few weeks in Atlanta.

The story continues:

"The new party movement is under the leadership of Col. Horace A. Mann, who led the Hoover campaign in the southern states and since has been superseded in patronage authority by Postmaster General Walter Brown and his associates.

"Colonel Mann, who for some time has entertained the vision of an exclusively white Republican party in the South, will issue a statement on the subject in the next few days. Considerable dissatisfaction is felt by him and his associates over the present status of southern G. O. P. affairs and this feeling has become so widespread and insistent that action has been decided necessary at once.

"The purpose of the Atlanta convention will be to capture all Re-

publican delegates to the next national convention, and to make certain that all are white. No Negroes will sit in the councils of the new party organization as they have done in the past."

In this respect Colonel Mann is quoted as having said:

"Let the Negroes go where they will; the time has come for a white Republican party in the South."

The News further says the attitude of Claudius H. Huston, new national Republican chairman, toward this movement remains in doubt and that although recently he and Mann adjusted their differences in conference Mann is silent as to whether their agreement embraced the reorganization plan.

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White Republicans To Dominate South

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NEWS-TIMES
SOUTH BEND, IND

OCT 3 1929 NEGRO REPUBLICANS TO CONVENE FRIDAY

Republican headquarters announces a meeting for Negro Republican voters to be held at 8 o'clock Friday night at headquarters. Speakers will be Judge Chester L. DuComb, nominee for mayor, City Chairman Alfred E. Martin, and Frank E. Coughlin,

OCT 9 1929

Negro Thinkers for Walker.

The organization of a Citizens Committee of 170 Negroes to boom the Walker campaign for the Mayoralty is not of itself very significant, for there never was a time when Tammany Hall could not have had such a lineup in its favor in any local election. The significance this year lies in the leadership of the movement. Four men who are unquestionably in the vanguard of the agitation for the establishment and perpetuation of race rights in the city and in the Nation lend their names to the Walker boom.

W. E. B. Du Bois is editor of the Crisis. He is a Harvard graduate of the class of 1890, with a post-graduate experience in the University of Berlin, and the author of several volumes dealing temperately and rangefully with Negro problems. Eugene K. Jones is executive secretary of the Urban League. Roy Lancaster is secretary-treasurer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the strongest Negro labor union in the United States. James Weldon Johnson is secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He is a graduate of Atlanta University, with three years of after-study in Columbia. Clearly the "intelligentsia" of the Negroes are for Walker. How far the rank and file of the race can be swung away from Republican party traditions is, of course, uncertain.

It is charged that LaGuardia as a member of Congress has been indifferent to the rights of colored people. It is asserted that Mayor Walker has brought about the provision of some \$7,000,000 for hospitals in the Harlem center, and that he has vastly increased the number of colored men on the city payroll. Probably the Negro leaders know what they are talking about, but whether they will find listeners numerous enough to count in a city election is pretty good guessing.

TRIBUNE

COLORED G. O. P. VOTERS GATHER

More than 60 colored voters of South Bend attended a mass meeting at the republican headquarters, 128 North Main street, Friday night. It was the second colored mass meeting of the fall campaign. Speakers were Frank Coughlin, republican nominee for city judge, Garnett Clay, Charles Wills and Mrs. R. D. Love.

All candidates for city judge. All candidates on the Republican ticket will be present.

Political - 1929

Party Affiliation

Cannon Urges Virginia Hooverites To Carry On Against Their Party

WASHINGTON, May 31.—(P)—Bishop James Cannon, Jr., of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, today called upon the anti-Smith Democrats of his native state of Virginia to carry forward a determined opposition to the state party leaders who supported Alfred E. Smith in the last presidential campaign.

Announcing that he would refrain from participation in the Democratic primary next August for the nomination of candidates for state offices, Bishop Cannon, who stumped the South for President Hoover, expressed the "hope that other anti-Smith Democrats will abstain from such participation."

The churchman in a letter to members of the Virginia executive committee of the anti-Smith Democrats, which he made public here tonight, endorsed the holding of a convention of anti-Smith Democrats at Roanoke on June 18. He said he hoped that convention would find and nominate for governor "an able, well qualified anti-Smith Democrat who did vote against Alfred E. Smith, and did refuse to accept or follow the present national and state Democratic leadership, and who will continue to do so."

"And I believe that the election of such a candidate," the bishop wrote, "would be to the best interests, not only of the state of Virginia, but of the Democratic party in the nation for such would warn the Democratic party in the nation at large that southern Democrats will not agree to surrender their moral convictions for a purely political party triumph and that a continuation of the Smith-Raskob leadership will mean the permanent loss of the South to the Democratic party."

Bishop Cannon interpreted President Hoover's victory in Virginia, the first of a Republican presidential candidate since the Civil War, as a "clean-cut, sweeping repudiation by a majority of the people in Virginia of those Democratic state leaders who followed and defended Smith and Raskob and vilified the anti-Smith speakers and leaders."

"Up to this hour," he continued, "no voice of protest has been raised by the Virginia members of the Democratic national committee or by the Democratic state leadership of Virginia, against the continuation of the Smith-Raskob leadership and against its so-called 'liberal' anti-prohibition policy."

"To accept now the present day still unwashed and still unrepentant state or national Democratic party leadership would be to brand as utterly mistaken and unwarranted the course pursued by the anti-Smith Democrats in 1928, and would therefore, very properly subject them to contempt and ridicule as 'quitters' or 'cowards' in a strenuous, unfinished, still continuing conflict for the maintenance of the great moral and social policy of prohibition."

"It is surely a ground for congratulation and satisfaction that the president

of the United States, for whom the anti-Smith Democrats voted, is placing such tremendous, continuous emphasis upon the vital importance of the effective observance and enforcement of all laws, including prohibition."

"Had Alfred E. Smith been elected, it would have been declared that prohibition had been repudiated, and that a mandate had been given for such modification of the prohibitory laws as would have resulted in their practical nullification."

"As long, therefore, as the same persons and influences dominate the national Democratic committee and that national committee has the support of the Virginia state Democratic committee, so long should anti-Smith Democrats refuse to follow that discredited and defeated leadership, and should stand back of the president of the United States in his openly-declared policy for prohibition enforcement and observance, including the perpetuation of national prohibition."

Bishop Cannon's letter was addressed to J. C. Moss, chairman, and L. F. Powell, secretary of the executive committee, at Richmond, Va., and was in response to a request from them for a statement concerning "the present political situation in Virginia."

Oust Bolter Or Destroy Party, Dent's Warning

Wizard Hiram Evans's
Confession On Klan's
Policy Pointed To

Action Imperative

'Quitters, G. O. P. Have
No Place In Primary'

By ATTICUS MULLIN

The statement of Imperial Wizard Hiram W. Evans that the Ku Klux Klan is a non-partisan organization and its membership had just as soon support a Republican as a Democrat for public office gives further and additional reasons why

the bars should be put up in Alabama next year, according to former Congressman S. Hugh Dent.

The statement of the imperial wizard was made at a statewide meeting of the Klan which was held with the Montgomery Klavern on the afternoon of Sunday, May 19. On the subject of politics as regarded by the klan, the imperial wizard said:

"It is power that the Ku Klux Klan wants and that is the natural instinct of every man. With the power that the klan has, it can elect or defeat any candidate it wants to by going to either the Democratic or the Republican party."

After discussing the klan meeting in Montgomery and the bold statement of its leaders, Mr. Dent asks the question: "How much longer must regular Democrats wait to learn whether they will be compelled to mingle in a primary with Republicans and bolters or find themselves without any party organization whatever?"

Mr. Dent in his statement calls for quick action on the part of the governing authority of the Democratic party in the state, the Democratic Executive Committee. Along this line he says, "If the Democratic party organization is to be preserved, something must be done and it cannot be done too soon. The regulars are entitled to consideration and the wishes of the rank and file must be respected if the party is to continue its existence as a dominant factor in the political affairs of Alabama."

The statement of Mr. Dent follows:

"Raise The Bars"
"If the account of the recent gathering of the klan in Montgomery is correct, there is furnished another cogent, potent reason demanding that the bars be raised to the skies if necessary, to keep Republicans and bolting Democrats out of the next Democratic primary."

"It is reported that the imperial wizard, who resides in Washington, whose citizenship can not vote, was present. It is also reported that the grand dragon of the Republican state of Illinois and the Democratic State of Alabama, who now resides, I am informed, in Illinois, was also at the gathering. The most interesting report of this meeting is the statement that the klan is greedy for power and that it does not belong to either of the old parties, but supports the one or the other according to its preference in the choice of the candidates. In other words, it is willing to enter a Democratic primary, reserving the right to vote the opposing ticket in the general election if the party's nominee does not suit it."

"How there can be any further hesitation upon the part of the 'Powers that be' is beyond comprehension. It is better to drive the Dugald Dalgetys from the ranks of the party even if the army goes down in defeat. It will be remembered that this famous 'soldier of for-

tune' had the habit of taking off the uniform of the army with which he had been fighting and donning the uniform of the enemy even on the eve of battle, provided he could obtain more pay thereby."

"How much longer must regular Democrats wait to learn whether they will be compelled to mingle in a primary with Republicans and bolters or find themselves without any party organization whatever?"

"How Long, Oh How Long"
"To paraphrase the language of Cicero in his defense of Rome against the machinations of Catiline, how long, oh, how long shall our patience continue to be abused."

"In some quarters it is urged that those who proposed the Democratic ticket in the last election should be denied the right to become a candidate in the primary but the bolting voter be invited to return. This, if practical, is not just. It is a discrimination that is unfair unless we are willing to say that the candidate possesses more intelligence than the voter."

"I have heard the suggestion made that there were a number of young people who voted for the first time and were misled. That they now realize their mistake and want to return to the party of their fathers. There is a way for their return by which they made their exit—that is to say, vote for the party nominee in the next general election."

"If the Democratic party organization is to be preserved something must be done, and it cannot be done too soon. The regulars are entitled to consideration and the wishes of the rank and file must be respected if the party is to continue its existence as a dominant factor in the political affairs of Alabama."

PRESIDENT HOOVER "FAIR AND SQUARE"

Dr. R. R. Moton, Principal of Tuskegee after a visit to the President made an interesting deliverance of his opinion in regard to the President's attitude and policy towards the race.

Dr. Moton said: "I have great hopes after talking with President Hoover, that the present administration is going to consider our group in a larger and finer way than has been true for many years."

"I believe that the President is determined to be fair and square in his treatment of us and oblivious to creed or color. It is my sanguine opinion that we will receive greater recognition and be given fuller opportunity to serve our country's affairs in more responsible places than hitherto has ever been true."

"I am not worried about the so-called 'Lily-White' situation in the South. There ought to be on each of the patronage committees which are being set up in the various states one or more Negro representatives, and I am

FLORIDA G. O. P. SETTLE DIFFERENCES AT MEET

Orlando, Fla., June 1.—(P)—Major factions of the republican party in Florida presented a reunited front tonight as a result of compromise reached here today in a secret meeting of the state central committee.

A. F. Knotts, of Yankeetown, declared ousted chairman of the state central committee by adjoints of Glenn B. Skipper, national committeeman, at their recent South Jacksonville meeting, was accepted and reinstated as chairman of that faction.

In return, the Knotts wing recognized the authority of Skipper to select his own patronage advisory board and Knotts agreed to ask for the resignations of a patronage committee he had appointed in opposition to the Skipper "little cabinet."

A plan for reorganization of the state central committee membership was adopted, calling for election of committee members from unorganized counties, and to fill all vacancies from organized counties.

The next state committee meeting was set for August 4, at a place not yet designated.

The agreement, described by leaders for both sides as the "groundwork for a harmonized party in Florida," was the result of a virtually all-night conference Friday night, attended by Skipper, Knotts, W. J. Howey and other leaders.

hopeful that this will be done."

Dr. Moton's impressions were gained from his talk with President Hoover and from his contact with him when he was in charge of the Mississippi Flood Relief Commission two years ago.

Dr. Moton declares it to be his belief that "the President is determined to be fair and square in his treatment of us and oblivious to creed and color."

While expressing his individual belief Dr. Moton also gives voice to the belief of the great mass of Negroes. Only the disgruntled die hards who first opposed the nomination of Mr. Hoover for President, who followed that opposition with bitter opposition in the campaign that followed, or those who half heartedly supported him after nomination and as opportunity offered played on both sides seek now to discredit the President with the Negro group.

The Negroes of the country both North and South have full faith and confidence in President Hoover and believe that he will give them fair and just recognition.

He has so far said or done nothing to indicate that he intends to put into effect any policy to be applied to Negroes as Negroes separate or different from other citizens. The so-called "Lily-White" situation referred to by Dr. Moton and harped on by some newspapers is not a situation created by President Hoover nor desired by him.

It is an evil inheritance that cannot be ignored and in handling which the greatest wisdom, tact and care must be exercised.

That the President will exercise such care and wisdom is assured by his record during his entire public career as well as by impressions gained by Dr. Moton and others who have talked with him since he became President.

Meantime any policies which may be intended to specially include betterment for the Negro group should be entered into whole heartedly by members of the race and given full co-operation.

This includes the attempt to establish the two party system in the South. The old rotten skeleton for patronage organization has been given a long, fair and full trial and has resulted in nothing but political failure, discomfiture, discouragement and disgrace to the group.

In the South nearly every right has been swept away, while the manipulators of patronage looked on listless, indifferent, silent and, in some states, approvingly.

Any change that offers even slight hope of betterment is worth the trial.

Warfare Declared On Present G. O. P. Rule by Calloway

Florida Judge Tells of Plans for Big Confer- ence of Hoover-crats in Atlanta.

Open warfare on the present black and-tan republican party in Georgia was sounded Tuesday night by Judge E. E. Calloway, Florida republican leader, who early in the week announced from Washington a conference of southern Hoover-crats to be held in Atlanta.

A strong Georgia republican party, he declared, will be the outgrowth of the meeting. It will build a militant, lily-white party either "through or over" the present party.

If possible the reorganization in the state will be effected by resolutions within the party limiting membership in it to white voters. If this proves inexpedient a new party will be built to supercede the old.

All South to Organize.

Not only in Georgia will such aggressive republican organization be created, he said. There will be an organization in every state in the south.

The forces which in the last presidential race for the first time broke the solid south will unite to promote and quicken as a political factor the principles advocated by them in the Hoover-Smith race, he declared.

The movement has the full support of the Ku Klux Klan, the W. C. T. U., and the Anti-Saloon League, he said. Representatives from each of them have been invited to attend the meeting.

The south, he declared, is ripe for a political change. He forecast that as a result of the meeting in Atlanta there would be a revolution making the south as solidly republican as the New England states.

Senator J. Thomas Heflin, Alabama senior senator, who stumped his state for Hoover, will be invited to attend the conference. Heflin, Judge Calloway said, is conversant with the movement and approves of it.

"If Heflin is ruled from the democratic party in Alabama he will be invited to run on the republican ticket," he said. "We are not going to permit any southern senator who had the courage to support Hoover

to be defeated. If the democrats defeat him we shall use every influence to have him run on the republican ticket."

A full list of those to be invited to the Atlanta conference has not yet been chosen, he said. This will be done by Colonel Horace Mann, of Tennessee, who will be aided by a committee of southern representatives. These men will meet in Washington next week.

Mann to Issue Call.

Judge Underwood expects Colonel Mann to issue the call to the conference some time next week. The conference will be held sometime before the first of December, he believes. Its purpose will be to formulate the policies of the new southern republican party.

When it is held a date will be set for convention of Hoover-cratic leaders of the south, at which the party itself will be created.

The cardinal principle of the new organization will be white supremacy, he said. He frankly admitted that the forces which will go into its creation arose primarily from the Ku Klux Klan.

Judge Calloway stated that he himself is not a Klansman, and that he has never been one. He is, and has been closely affiliated with them, however, and bears credentials which will bring him into any of their meetings.

Confers With Klan Heads.

He has conferred with Samuel Green, of Atlanta, Klan leader, who has assured him that there are 125,000 Klansmen in the state. He will back the new party. There are 56,000 in Judge Calloway's own state, Florida, who in his belief will stand under its banner.

The new organization will have the antagonism of Postmaster General Walter F. Brown from its inception. Judge Calloway admitted a breach between him and his associates, on the one side, and Brown, in Washington last week.

It will retain the patronage features of the present system if it is possible to do so. Judge Calloway has conferred with leaders here and believes that this can be done.

If it cannot be done, however, plans for the organization will go forward independently. The lily-white policy, which those from whom it is hoped the new party will be recruited insist upon, will not be sacrificed at any cost.

The movement had its inception some months ago, he said, at the time of a statement given by him to newspapers in Florida as to the position of southern Hoover-crats. He received thousands of letters, he said, advocating the formation of such a party as he suggested.

These he laid before Colonel Horace Mann. Since that time the opinions, suggestions and co-operation of leaders in various states has been

gained, he said.

Judge Calloway, although a resident of Lakeland, Fla., was born and reared in Alabama. He lived in Coosa and Shelby counties in Alabama, both of which have large republican groups. He has always voted the republican ticket, he said.

His present visit to Atlanta was occasioned by legal business, he said. He took advantage of the trip to hold several conferences with regard to the meeting here. After a conference with H. G. Hastings, Hoover campaign leader, Saturday morning, he will attend the Tech-Florida football game and begin his return journey to Lakeland.

RECOGNIZE RACE PARTY LEADERS

Lily-Whites Resent G. O. P. Chairman's Support Of Robert Church

Washington, D. C., Oct. 1. Evidently smarting under the inclination of the Republican Party as represented by National Committee Chairman Claudius H. Huston to recognize the Church-Taylor faction in Tennessee as opposed to the lily-whites, E. E. Calloway, white, Florida State republican chairman, is calling for the upbuilding of a new organization in the South.

Chairman Calloway charges that "old influences which had commercialized the Republican Party since the Civil War" has gained a sympathetic ear in Washington.

Huston Takes Stand

In Tennessee Mr. Huston is said to have taken a stand against his own followers and influenced them to unite with the Church-Taylor organization on patronage and other matters, such as organization that would promote political strength for the coming election.

The dispute between the two factions, which became acute several years ago over patronage matters, was settled by an agreement that National Committeeman J. Will Taylor is to confer with other party leaders regarding appointments and all are to work together.

Bob Church In Power

Under this arrangement Robert E. Church will probably be the undisputed party leader in the tenth congressional district of Tennessee.

Calloway's Statement

In a statement issued here Tuesday night of this week, the Florida State chairman said:

"The Hoover Democrats and all other white people of the South will be invited to come into this new organization in full fellowship."

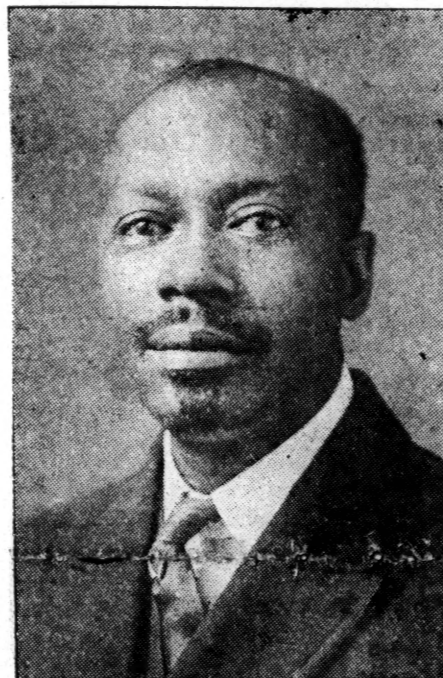
He charged that the patronage committee consisting of Postmaster General Brown, Walter P. Newman and James Burke, "have sought to restore the old order of things in the South and used the power of patronage to accomplish their result."

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Party Affiliation.

Republican.

Hoover

Says Party In Danger of Defeat In Ignoring Colored Voters



MR. WILLIAM BAILEY,
Old Republican Wheelhouse Who
Wants Party to Do "Something."

These protest meetings of the dyed-in-the-wool Republican brothers always produce a new Daniel and a strong denouncer of the Republican party and its wrongs to the Negro. The only trouble is most "Denouncers" denounce this week and apologize next week. Last week at the protest meeting at Odd Fellows Hall while others were pouring oil on the trouble waters Mr. William Bailey let loose a broadside that made the white Republicans present turn red in the face.

After Rev. Troutman, Mr. Ryan and Mr. Cartwright had spoken. Mr. James Harris, presiding, introduced Mr. William Bailey. Mr. Bailey is an old Republican wheelhorse who has a large following among the working people because he works himself—nit a political job—does not run to headquarters every day, asks no privileges for a game or anything and so is in a position to be himself. Mr. Bailey really grew eloquent Friday night and spoke like the lament

ed Patrick Henry who is known to all schoolboys for saying, "Give me Liberty or give me death."

Well, that's practically the definition that Bailey threw at the Republican bosses Friday night. He said in more eloquent terms than this reporter can report, that the party had not come clean with the Negro, that the Negro wanted Negro captains of Negro precincts and a Negro district leader where they were in the majority. He said if the Negroes were not given this much recognition the party could not be blamed if it went down in defeat November 5.

The committee sent out with a lot of resolutions to the Republican bosses reported. Mr. Bailey said the report was very unsatisfactory. Something was said about giving the Negro more police officers instead of a district manager and Negro precinct captains. Mr. Bailey said this

would not do. The Negroes want and intend to have a Negro district manager and Negro precinct captains wherever Negroes are in a majority. He made it plain that they were all "Republicans," but the party faces defeat if the Negroes are ignored further. They only ask for their rights. Party victory or no party victory. They would rather get this under a Republican administration than a Democratic administration, but if the party doesn't care neither do the Negroes, since the pie they get is very little anyhow. So that's that.

Mr. Bailey says the Negroes are irate and know they can defeat the Republicans in 24 hours notice. He says scratching McIntosh doesn't mean anything, but there is a way. Aha, and all that.

Lily Whites
Upset by

Washington, D. C., Oct. 25.

The famous edict of President Hoover scrapping black and tan organizations in the states of Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina and approving of the lily-white organizations in other Southern states has been recalled by President Hoover to taunt the advocates of a strong white Republican party in Dixie.

The White house on Monday made public a letter from President Hoover telling the new Florida Republican organization that the success of the Republican party rests on good government, not on patronage.

It was alleged patronage abuses in the states of Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina which led President Hoover to issue his statement last March. It was a row over patronage that caused him to write his letter of rebuke to the Florida organization.

The letter was addressed to Fred Britton, secretary of the Republican state organization, who had protested against President Hoover's disregard of the organization's recommendations for filling the district attorneyship in the southern district of Florida.

In the background of the patronage in Florida row is the whole scheme of eliminating the Race and building up lily-white Republican party in the South. Col. Horace A. Mann, Hoover's southern campaign director, is believed to be inciting the feud. President Hoover placed responsibility for reorganization of the party in the South in the hands of a committee composed of Postmaster General Walter F. Brown, White House Secretary Walter H. Newton, and James Francis Burke, general counsel of the Republican committee. This committee rejected the plans of Colonel Mann for the reorganization of the party in the South, and the forces of Colonel Mann are planning a rump convention to be held in Atlanta to protest against recognition of members of the black and tan organizations and build an organization of "decent" and "respectable" Southern Republicans.

The president's letter dealt with this conflict. "It is the natural desire of the administration," wrote the president, "to build up and strengthen the Republican party in Florida. That can be done in co-operation with the state organization if the organization presents candidates who measure up to my requirements of public service."

"This is an obligation in the interest of the people of the state, and first tenet in that program is that no longer shall the laws of the United States be flouted by federal officials; no longer shall public office be regarded as mere political patronage, but that it shall be public service."

"I note your demands that the organization shall dictate appointments,

irrespective of merit or my responsibility, and that you appeal to opponents of the administration to attack me. I inclose herewith copy of statement which I issued last March. That statement was no idle gesture."

There is a great deal of garbage lying about in the shaftway separating the two houses and heaped in the back yards.

Bells haven't worked for years and the letter boxes are no more than a series of holes in the wall.

At 2323 lives Mrs. Y. We had better not mention her name for she has just received a five dollar rent raise and now pays \$57 for her seven rooms. Nine live in this apartment.

Conditions are about the same here as in Mrs. X's place.

If a Negro worker wishes to avoid such a place as East 134th Street, he goes to the west side Harlem, pays higher rents, but has to sublet nearly all the rooms in the apartment. The result is more over-crowding here than in worse located tenements, and more danger to the health of the tenants because of the absolute neglect of the houses by the landlord.

Go to a "higher class" apartment and the condition is just as bad. The rent is higher, the worker must work harder, his wife, his children must work, he must take in lodgers.

It is in this class of apartments—those renting at about \$10 per room per month—that you will find tremendous overcrowding, terrible housing conditions, rooms in state of decay and the landlords, creeping around like so many slimy snakes sucking the very life blood out of the workers with their continual demand for rent raises and their persistent refusal to make any improvements.

The worse the houses the higher rents. The more tenants in Harlem, the higher the rents. Laws or no laws, the landlords, sitting on the backs of the Negro workers have made a gold mine out of Harlem for themselves.

Segregation—a virtual prison system, a system of bars and chains—has helped the landlords. Race oppression, added to oppression of the Negroes as workers, means more dollars for the landlords. By forcing Negroes to live in a put-aside section, the value of the land and houses rises out of all proportion. The real estate men and landlords speculate to their heart's content. To these parasites dollars are the measure of humanity.

So, you see that segregation in housing is a matter of dollars for the landlords, just as it is for the bosses of factories, and a barbed-wire fence for the Negro workers, catching and tearing their flesh.

Tomorrow we will go into other sections of Harlem, revealing further the persecution the tenants must suffer at the hands of the landlords.

Bailey Denounces Republican Bosses For Not Recognizing Negro
Makes Burning Speech At Protest Meeting

Lily Whites
Upset by

Attack on One Party System Is Continued by Col. Palmer

Pounding away on his contention that evils, firmly entrenched and far-reaching, grow out of a one-party political system like Georgia's, Colonel James Hill Palmer, independent progressive candidate for congress from the fifth district, hammered into the consciousness of an East Point audience at Odd Fellows' hall Friday night the fact that only under a two-party system can the rule that rules the state be changed and politics be elevated to a plane where principles of government and methods of administration will lure the interest and win the votes of the people.

"Jefferson, patron saint of old time Democrats, quoted in public and scorned in private by present-day false leaders of the democratic party in Georgia, had confidence in the virtue and wisdom of the people," said Colonel Palmer. "He was an ardent advocate of a two-party system, declaring that it enabled the people to choose their leaders from groups of men whose principles were their own; and that it promoted public discussion of pertinent issues which informed the masses and induced them to vote for measures rather than for personalities often petty though sometimes picturesque."

Bill to Foster Vice.

"Would you vote for a bill to foster vice? Would you vote for a bill to promote graft and spread corruption through various departments of the state? Would you vote to waste the public funds so that your taxes might be increased and the benefits of government reduced?"

"Of course you would not knowingly do anything so senseless and unrighteous. But that is exactly what you are doing when you continue to vote the ticket the bosses frame for you. For the fruitage of graft and vice and wastefulness of the public funds is the food that fattens the crammer of tickets and the controllers and manipulators of the ballot boxes in our beloved but badly abused Georgia."

"What must free men do to right the wrongs in government? Often they have had recourse to arms, but in this day men of America need only a free ballot to lay low the traducers and plunderers of the people. But you cannot have a free ballot while you are tied to the flagpole of a single, selfish party organization. The independent progressive party is the instrument that will enable you to sever connection with the deteriorated democratic party that was once the glory of the south, but has become a broken and bespattered shell of its old-time self."

Attitude Misrepresented.

"Running true to form, the democratic machine of this district, through its representative in this campaign for congress, grossly and maliciously misrepresents my attitude toward the DePriest incidents and some others. We knew it would. Concerning the congressional tea at the White House I have not voiced approval. I have said the tea was given in accord with a custom inviting to the president's home each session the

wives of congressmen; that the custom was established by Martha Washington and had been followed since the founding of the republic; and that it was a custom you and I could not control."

"Congressman DePriest took his oath of office with a mental reservation, though he swore he was taking it 'without mental reservation.' He swore to uphold the constitution of the United States, but declared in an Ohio speech this summer that he would not uphold it in its entirety unless Uncle Sam made certain appropriations to please him. He said he would not vote to appropriate funds to enforce the 18th amendment unless similar sums were set aside for the enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments, which he said the south, 'a barbaric people,' refused to enforce."

"Georgia congressmen have raised a great furore over the tea incident, but they have let the violation of DePriest's oath of office pass without opening their mouths. They haven't had the gumption to get after him. If I go to congress in October from the fifth district I shall offer at an early opportunity resolutions to impeach this congressman for his serious offense."

Need for a two-party system in the fifth Georgia congressional district was stressed Thursday night by James Hill Palmer, independent progressive candidate for congress in the special election to be held October 2. Mr. Palmer branded the one-party system as pernicious and as one designed to retard good government.

Excerpts from his address, delivered at the Hapeville city auditorium, follow:

"We need competition in politics as we need it in business, and we cannot hope for good government in Georgia until we have it. The independent progressive candidate is in this congressional contest for the primary purpose of helping to break down our pernicious system of one-party government by building a second party upon foundations that will appeal to the honest, thoughtful, aspiring citizens of the state."

"Under the single-party system a political ring controls the state, adjusting its tax methods and the distribution of the public funds to suit the necessities of their own greedy and conscienceless selves."

Spread of Corruption.

"Not many men, with open eyes, would vote for the spread of corruption and lawlessness, and the extension of graft among public officials; yet you who continue to vote the party ticket put out by the bosses are lending your aid to the perpetuation of conditions in our state from which good men pray we may soon be delivered."

"Every man should control his own vote, and he should have the privilege of choosing the officers of the government under which he lives, unhampered by the prejudices and whims and devilish designs of any other. He can't control it while he is tied to a single party by the specious plea that party fealty is an unadulterated virtue. Party loyalty may be

the instrument that sears your own soul, for you must follow the leadings of your conscience, often, in voting as well as in other relations with your fellows, if you would preserve the fine fruitage of decent citizenship and the precious heritage of free government."

"A better class of men would aspire to office under a two-party system in this state, and campaigns would be pitched on higher planes; if constructive principles rather than petulant, perspiring personalities were the issues."

"White Supremacy."

"White supremacy is being rather loosely discussed by various folk for the purpose of camouflaging the issues in this campaign. Can any thinking person be ignorant of the force that really maintains white supremacy in Georgia? It surely is not the democratic party, despite the fulminations of one candidate for the high post in Washington. What valid guarantee could the democratic party that white supremacy will be preserved to Georgia? How do the bosses of that party propose to prevent the negro from qualifying and voting?"

"The real reason white supremacy is established in Georgia and will be preserved as a vital principle in the life of the commonwealth is the economic reason that we feed and clothe and house the negro, and he would not survive a week if we should withdraw our support from him."

Reference to DePriest.

"And right here belongs a reference to DePriest, negro congressman from a Chicago segregated district, the presence of whose wife at a congressional tea at the White House has caused a great hullabaloo in the south. Martha Washington established the custom of giving a tea to the wives of all congressmen at the home of the president, and it was observed by the Jeffersons, Jacksons, Cleverlands and Wilsons, as well as the other White House occupants. We can't control the custom."

"But there is one DePriest incident that we can do something about. DePriest violated his oath of office when he told an Ohio audience in June that unless the government appropriated its millions to enforce the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments 'in the south' he would not vote to maintain the eighteenth amendment. For that utterance he should be impeached. But the incident is not mentioned in this campaign, and no Georgia congressman has had the backbone to do anything about it."

"Would you rather pay \$10 for shoes when you have a job than to be jobless and busted when shoes sell at \$2 a pair? Well, that illustrates about what an adequate protective tariff means to the men and women of America."

POLICE ORDER NEGROES TO ATTEND REPUBLICAN SPEAKINGS.

Nothing shows how low the Negro has sunk in the estimation of the Republican bosses more than these incidents:

Last Saturday night there was a Republican speaking on the Haymarket. This was to offset a Colored Democratic speaking scheduled for Preston and Liberty streets. A brass band was employed, red lights and a parade was formed to get a crowd. Police officers went up and down Walnut street, telling Negroes they had better be at the Haymarket to the Republican speaking! Owners of poolrooms, soft drink stands, etc., were Ordered to Close Up Between 9 and 11 o'clock and Be There!

How fine are Messrs. Harrison, Fox, et al. that they have to order Negroes to close up and be there at one of their Republican speakings. So Thursday night a great Republican rally was scheduled for Jefferson Park, Preston and Kentucky. And the word went down the line—All Negro keepers of Dives and Joints, pool-rooms and Soft Drink Stands Close Up And Be There!

So our good Republican friends who, Mr. Harrison Coleman says, can win without the Negro, have to use the police to demand that the Negro underworld close up and be there!

Oh Mr. Harrison, Judge Fox how could you? But a vote is a vote—even when you don't want the voter.

Political - 1929

Party Affiliation

A Half-Year of Hoover

By KELLY MILLER

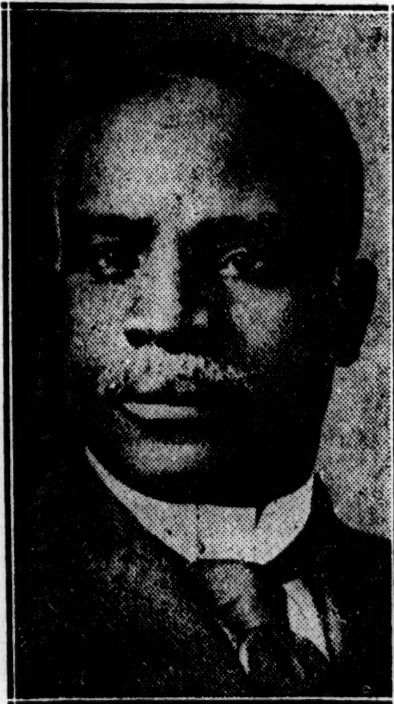
PRESIDENT HOOVER has now been in office for six months. One-eighth of his allotted time has already been expended. In the first six months of his administration he has given a clear indication of his plans and policies for the remaining three and a half years. 9-11-29

Mr. Hoover has the mind of the engineer. He surveys the whole task before attempting to attack any special feature. He does not think in fractions, not even in integers but in integrals. Like the skillful physician, he makes a complete diagnosis before prescribing for symptomatic ills. He does not prescribe any specific remedy for murder, lynching, intemperance or political corruption as the hasty one-eyed partisans would insist, but he appoints a crime commission to consider comprehensively the whole field of law enforcement. He will not allow himself to become induly excited over the violation of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth or Eighteenth Amendment, but seeks to strengthen the underlying moral fabric upon which the Constitution and the law rest.

The process seems to be painfully slow and disappointing to the elements of the population with special grievances and complaints.

Mr. Hoover knows neither North nor South, male nor female, white nor black, industrialist nor agriculturist, as separate entities, but integrates them all in the common social equation. It will require at least eight years to work out his program.

A man of Mr. Hoover's comprehension and breadth cannot be partisan. He lacks Abraham Lincoln's political sagacity. Republican and Democrat are meaningless to him in relation to national propositions. It is wholly impossible for the dyed in the wool partisan to understand him. He assigns the chief places in his administration to persons who were



— Kelly Miller —

hostile, indifferent or who stood aloof from his political fortunes during the campaign; while those who bore the heat and burden of the political day form no part of his administrative scheme.

The politician believes in representative and distributive recognition. According to his partisan ethics, to the visitor belongs the spoils. Distribution of office should be rigidly limited to the victorious party, and distributed among all elements in that party according to numerical weight and active political service.

Tammany Hall illustrates this principle of political ethics. But Mr. Hoover believes in efficiency, first, last and all the time. If in his judgment a Democrat is the best qualified man for Attorney General, a Democrat is made Attorney General, notwithstanding the fact that one of his most ardent supporters was an aspirant for that assignment.

President Hoover split the solid South in twain, and yet that section has received no capital official recognition; the women voters were overwhelmingly for him, but the female contingent share scantily in the distribution of official favor. Negroes in great numbers followed his political fortune, but no Negro

so far has tasted even of the crumbs which fall from the table of his official bounty. The President means no slight or offense to the South, the female sex nor the Negro race; but they do not furnish much material or calibre, experience and expertness to fit into his scheme of efficiency. One does not have to agree with Mr. Hoover's policy in order to understand and admire it.

The Negro is now indulging in his quadrennial complaint at the neglect of each new administration. I predicted during the past campaign precisely what is now transpiring. Being myself an original and persistent Hoover man, I insistently cautioned his overzealous advocates to study to understand him before extravagant indulgence in loud laudations.

Mr. Hoover has been in the public eye for twelve years. During all of that time he has never uttered one public word concerning the Negro as a separate entity. He has never engaged to deal with any of his specific problems as such. And yet Mr. Hoover's general policies stand and govern himself accordingly. The political history of the race calls for a new chapter. The good old Republican party has laid aside its tradition and has frankly simplified the situation. The Fifteenth Amendment and the Fourteenth Amendment in certain of its features are to become scraps of paper. Mr. Hoover knows this and regrets it. But he is not likely to translate his regrets into action.

Two contending political parties in the South are to be fostered and encouraged, under the leadership of white men. The Negro must step aside. He is becoming reconciled to his fate. John Mitchell of Virginia and Ben Davis of Georgia are suggesting the division of the Negro vote between the two contending "lily white" parties. Robert Vann of The Pittsburgh Courier is sponsoring the same advice. No word has been heard to escape the prudent lips of John R. Hawkins, designated national leader. Bob Church alone stands out boldly and defiantly for the black man's ancient claims in Southern politics.

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A Political Calm

ALL is quiet on the Potomac. In the white man's mind the race question, in its political aspect, is settled. The black man is not to function in the management and manipulation of party organization and machinery. He is not to hold office where he is to be put in charge of white men or be thrown in close intimacy with them. He may vote wherever his vote may not jeopardize white supremacy.

The Constitution is held in abeyance, so far as race rights are concerned. I believe it was the late Senator Underwood of Alabama who said that white men did not propose to fall out over the Negro. What is the Constitution among white friends? I am turning the white man's political mind wrong side out for the Negro to read and understand. This mind is not split on political division. Calvin Coolidge and John W. Davis, Al Smith and Herbert Hoover are in complete accord on this issue. It is reserved for the Negro to understand and govern himself accordingly.

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ace Mann, have fallen out over the control of Southern patronage. The Negro was eliminated from the equation by Mr. Hoover because alleged scandals of the black patronage mongers. It now appears that the change in the color scheme of Southern leadership does not effect any essential difference.

I said some weeks ago that Perry Howard was crucified, dead and buried. He admits the crucifixion, but questions the death and burial. Let us hope that my pronouncement of his demise was premature. He is watching the issue between Huston and Mann with both eyes open. If Mann heads up, Hoover bolt in the South with reasonable hope of throwing three hundred Southern delegates against his nomination, there is no telling what extreme measures Mr. Hoover's management may take to lead it off. They may have to call on Perry Howard and Ben Davis and Walter Cohen to keep the Republican ship under the same captaincy. Stranger things have happened.

The nomination and confirmation of Walter Cohen in the heart of the South, contrary to avowed policy of the Grand Old Party, is a classical case in point. Brown Burke and Newton, the triumvirate of Southern Republican politics may be compelled to reverse themselves. The political conscience never balks at self-reversion when faced by an overwhelming political exigency.

In the meantime, Negro political Washington is as dead as Homer's Hector. Hoover has been in office nearly eight months, one-sixth of his appointed time. No word has escaped his lips. Judge Cobb sits on the Municipal bench, secure in the tenure of his term; Froe holds on to the recordership of deeds by grace of a West Virginia Senator; Cohen, in Louisiana, holds on by his eyelashes; Charlie Anderson sits still and pretty on his job because the political world, white and black, has forgotten his existence; Bob Vann is suspended between hope and despair in his anxiety to succeed Perry Howard; the Liberatorian ministership is awaiting its next victim; John Hawkins, national spokesman, and Emmett Scott, his astute assistant, like Ol' Man River, "don't say nothin'."

But things are different out in the field. DePriest is raising Cain all over the country. He is using the language of Thaddeus Stevens in the days of Herbert Hoover. He is waving his sword furiously; but I fear it has two edges and cuts both ways. Hubert Delany is fight-

ing a heroic battle to join DePriest, segregation makes this kind of State compelled to elect congressmen by districts. They may all be elected at large. So, while we do

We must also bear in mind that well to exploit the political advantage of segregation, still, let us not be overboasting and bolstering the minority.

Modesty becomes the minority. The vision, the white man, on final analysis, holds in his hand the controlling power. He fixes the metes and bounds of all political divisions. There are various devices known to the political geographers by which a segregated group of Negroes can be so split up as to leave a majority nowhere. Neither is a

Political - 1929

Republican.

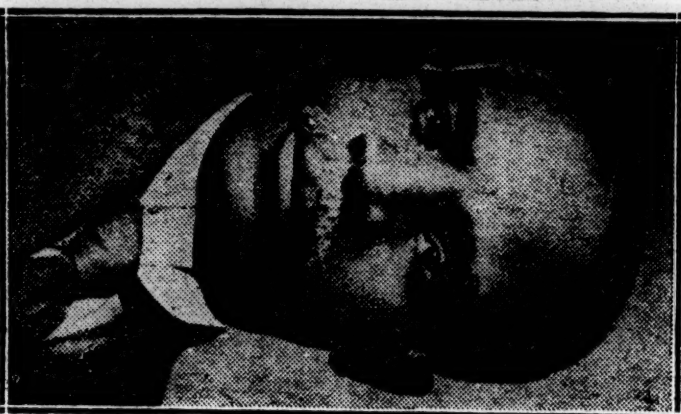
Party Affiliation A Half-Year of Hoover

PRESIDENT HOOVER

R. KELLY MILLER

has now been in office for six months. One-eighth of his allotted time has already been expended. In the first six months of his administration he has given a clear indication of his plans and policies for the remaining three and a half years. 9-11-29

Mr. Hoover has the mind of the engineer. He surveys the whole task before attempting to attack any special feature. He does not think in fractions, not even in integers but in integrals. Like the skillful physician, he makes a complete diagnosis before prescribing for symptomatic ills. He does not prescribe any specific remedy for murder, lynching, intemperance or political corruption as the hasty one-eyed partisans would insist, but he appoints a crime commission to consider comprehensively the whole field of law enforcement. He will not allow himself to become induly excited over the violation of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth or Eighteenth Amendment, but seeks to strengthen the underlying moral sentimentative and distributive recognition upon which the Constitution and the process seems to be painfully slow and disappointing to the eyes of the population with special grievances and complaints. Mr. Hoover knows neither North nor South, male nor female, white nor black, industrialist nor agriculturist, as senators entitle but integrates them all in the common social equation. It will require at least eight years to work out his program.



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are calculated to be of inestimable advantage to the Negro, who stands in need of the beneficence of his far-flung policies. Mr. Hoover's politically-minded lieutenants may prevail upon him to allow them to play small political tricks with the Negro in his name. The Congressional election is now approaching. Certain customs are to be observed. Mr. Hoover knows that the places will probably be filled by Negroes or their present occupants will be left undisturbed. But Mr. Hoover's essential character precludes him from playing spectacular politics to cap any particular vote.

And yet I have faith in Hoover whose comprehensive program of efficiency promotes the welfare of all, wherein the Negro will derive his appropriate share. From this point of view, I here and now nominate him for self-successor in order that he might complete his far-reaching program, hoping the while that he may find it effective to seek out and utilize efficient Negro agents to help in perfecting this program.

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ing a heroic battle to join DePriest in Congress. In this he has the universal good-will of the race. The logical outcome of the gospel, according to DePriest, spells segregated Negro control and brings about a racial impasse. The Negro being hopelessly in the minority, would, in the end, come out of the little end of the horn. John P. Green of Cleveland, who, like Cato, is now studying Greek at eighty-four, once represented an all but solidly white constituency in the Ohio Senate. But political

segregation makes this kind of thing impossible under the DePriest dogma. We must also bear in mind that however numerous may be the Negro element in a given political division, the white man, on final analysis, holds in his hand the controlling power. He fixes the metes and bounds of all political divisions. There are various devices known to the political geographers by which a segregated group of Negroes can be so split up as to leave a majority nowhere. Neither is a

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Misrepresentation Charged To Alexander by Ramspeck In Address at East Point

'Independent' Candidate's Speeches Have Varied From Facts, Democratic Nominee Says.

Constitution

Charging that Hooper Alexander, "independent" candidate for congress from the fifth Georgia district, is waging a campaign of misrepresentation and that his utterances from the stump have varied from what he (Alexander) knows are the true facts, Robert C. W. Ramspeck, democratic nominee for the post, Tuesday night scored such policies as a subterfuge and called on voters to rally to the support of the party which has preserved the south to the control of the white race.

Mr. Ramspeck's address was made to a large audience at the East Point Woman's club auditorium with E. E. Phillips, city attorney of East Point, presiding.

Mr. Ramspeck said in part: "For the first time in many years the fifth district of the Empire State of the south is witnessing a fight against the nominee of the white primary. The primary is a southern institution designed by our fathers to keep under the control of the white people their public affairs."

Leader of Attack.

"This attack is being led by a man 71 years of age, old enough to remember the time when negroes sat in the general assembly of Georgia old enough to remember the bitter struggle necessary to rid Georgia of this menace; but he has so far forgotten himself as to let his personal desire for office make him disregard the white men and women of this district, and he is, by his attack upon the primary, inviting the support of 2,900 negro voters in Fulton county."

"This political 'Moses' who admits that he is the only person capable of leading the 'children' of the fifth district out of the political wilderness, gives two reasons for this conduct which is unbecoming in any white man who claims to believe in the principles of democracy as heretofore practiced in Georgia. The Hon. Hooper Alexander, self-appointed savior of the people, says that the fifth district committee is controlled by ring politicians and that its rules were framed to keep him from running in the primary. He further charges that I was selected to run from DeKalb county by a secret meeting held in the night time and my selection was brought about through trickery by William Schley Howard."

"Neither statement is true and Mr. Alexander has deliberately attempted to mislead the people of this district as to the facts."

Rules for Primary.

"In the first place the rules for the primary are almost identical with those under which Mr. Alexander ran for congress in 1920, at which time he failed to carry a single county. The

only material difference is in the pledge or statement contained in the rules of 1929, which in substance is simply a statement that the candidate is a democrat, believes in the principles of the democratic party and will abide by the result of the primary. I have a copy of the rules in use in 1920 and also those of this year and will be glad to show them to anyone who may doubt my statement. "Does he object to saying he is a democrat? Does he object to the principles of the democratic party? Does he object to a promise to abide by the result of the primary?"

"If he objects to any of these things, he should not have become a candidate in the primary. So far as I know, Mr. Alexander belongs to no fraternal organization, but he and I are both members of the same church. When we joined this church we both obligated ourselves to be governed by its rules and regulations and we pledged our belief in its principles. That is all the fifth district committee of the democratic party asked him to do, that is all it asked anyone to do as a candidate in the primary. "In the national campaign of 1928, I heard Mr. Alexander say that he was a democrat; that he was opposing Al Smith because, as he alleged, Smith had repudiated the party platform as to prohibition. If he was sincere in this statement, then there was no valid reason why he should not have run in the primary."

Alexander's Statement Hit.

"In his speech at the Atlanta theater last week Mr. Alexander in referring to the fifth district committee which made the rules for the primary, said: 'My information is that Mr. Ramspeck was one of that committee.' He knows that such a statement is utterly false. I had nothing to do with the rules made by the committee. At the hour the committee was meeting I was in my seat in the Georgia house of representatives, sitting by the side of Mr. Alexander and Mr. Alexander and myself had a conversation about the meeting of the committee at that time; therefore this statement quoted above was a deliberate attempt to mislead the voters; an attempt to make them think that I took part in the committee meeting, when he well knows that I was in my seat in the legislature."

"As to the pledge or statement contained in the rules, I am informed that it was designed as an invitation for those who opposed the nominee for president last year, to come back into the democratic party. It certainly cannot be construed as an insult to anyone who claims to be a democrat, although Mr. Alexander says that it was an insult to him."

Meeting in Decatur.

"The meeting in Decatur, at which I was endorsed as a candidate for congress, has been explained to you by Mr. James C. Davis. It was more than an elimination process, agreed upon by Mr. Davis, Mr. John Wesley Weekes and myself. It was a binding upon only us three, although the names were discussed. It was not a secret meeting. It was public,

was attended by about 50 of the best citizens of my county, selected not for any other reason except that they were representatives of their particular communities. No effort was made by me to influence their action in advance or at the time of the meeting. On the contrary I talked to less than a half dozen of them and told those to vote for the man they thought best fitted to make the race, without regard to friendship. If Mr. Alexander can find a man whom I asked to support me in the meeting I will retire from this race."

"Mr. Alexander's comment upon the Decatur meeting is an insult to the integrity and intelligence of those splendid citizens who composed the gathering. It is but another effort in his part to gain personal advantage through misrepresentation of the facts."

Entrance Fees.

"In like manner he has misrepresented the facts as to the entrance fees required of the candidates. He knows, or ought to know, that the cost under the law must be paid by the candidates. If four candidates had entered, instead of two, the cost to each would have been cut in half. "If the district committee had failed to call a primary, there would have been 20 or more democratic candidates and one prominent republican. Of course the republican would have won. A child can take the figures of past national elections and verify this statement."

"The real reason Mr. Alexander failed to enter the primary is that he knew he could not win in a democratic white contest. He tried it in 1920 and lost every county in the district. He once ran for governor and carried only one county in the state. He has always had difficulty in being elected to office and what success he has had in the past has been due to the very men he now calls ring politicians. I help manage his campaign in 1920 and the men who have helped him in all his other races are now supporting me. Those who are now backing him are new friends who are being misled by him, who are laboring under the mistaken opinion that those who voted for Hooper last year were excluded from the primary. Such is not the true fact. "All true Georgians, regardless of how they voted last year, would like to see the democratic party reunited. I have never personally offered one word in criticism of those whose convictions led them to oppose the nominee of the party last year. I give them credit for following the dictates of their conscience, for voting their convictions."

Fight on Primary.

"There is, however, a vast difference between the voter who last year voted his convictions and opposed the democratic nominee and the self-seeking politician who, for personal gain, now seeks to fan the blaze of discord for the purpose of being elected to office. "Mr. Alexander's present fight on the white primary is a direct invitation for the return of the negro to participation in public affairs in Georgia. Up to this good hour Mr. Alexander has made no reference to white supremacy. Where does he stand on this vital issue? In the last session of the legislature he told that body that it was foolish to propose a resolution condemning the entertainment of the DePriest woman at the White House. Was that statement not a direct bid for negro support?"

"The other independent candidate started his campaign by promising to impeach DePriest, but in his speeches he has maintained a significant silence in regard to white supremacy. We now find the negro, Ben Davis, former republican leader in Georgia, patting Mr. Palmer on the back in his last issue of the Atlanta Independent and at the same time devoting a whole column in his newspaper to an attack upon me because I stand for white supremacy. In his Decatur speech of the DePriest-White House test party."

Negroes Urged to Vote.

"In this same issue of Ben Davis's paper we find an article urging the negroes to register and vote. We also find an article calling attention to the republican senators, who face campaigns next year, and showing that in some states as many as 160,000 negroes are qualified to vote. What does this mean? It means that the negro is welcoming the opportunity offered him by the candidacy of Messrs. Alexander and Palmer, to win independents, the men who propose to wreck that bulwark of white control, the white primary."

"Many of the older citizens have not forgotten the days of agony it cost he south which followed the surrender of the immortal Lee. These men will never vote for an independent. They will stick to the white primary or they recall the days when a woman was not safe on the highways when the white men had to submissively to negro domination backed by federal bayonets; when starvation was facing the returned hero in gray; when the old Klan rode in the night as the only salvation of the white civilization of the southern states."

"With this memory of the struggle of those heroes in gray, I cannot understand the attitude of Mr. Alexander. When he even refused, as a member of the legislature, to vote for an increase in the pensions for Confederate veterans and their widows."

Work in Legislature.

"In the recent session of the legislature Mr. Alexander demonstrated that he is not fitted to represent this district in congress; that his inexperience in such matters. He stated dwells in the past; that he is not in tune with modern conditions. He was totally lacking in influence in that body and his entire efforts there were in opposition to constructive measures; his constant effort was to abuse the schools, the universities and the departments of the state government; He voted against the appropriation for public schools and the university; he opposed the bill regulating dealings in cotton, which will give the farmer more for his cotton and permit Georgia to have a delivery point for cotton bought for future delivery. He opposed the bill which permits the construction of a great building on the site of the old union depot. He offered no constructive thought to the legislative body. Although a member of the committee considering reform in the criminal procedure of the state he failed to attend the meeting of the committee to assist in bringing about this much needed reform."

"In this campaign I have heretofore refrained from discussing the other candidates, but the time has come for plain speaking. I could not long stay silent and permit these independent candidates to pose as saviors of the people when, in truth and fact, neither of them are discussing national issues, neither of them are taking a position on white supremacy and both are attempting to mislead the voters."

"Where do they stand upon the tariff bill now pending in congress? This is the first measure the new congressman will have to consider. As now drawn this bill will add approximately 20 per cent to the cost of shoes and will raise the cost of living generally. Although the president called congress for farm relief and a limited revision of the tariff in the interest of agriculture, the present bill will not help the farmer. It benefits a few rich corporations at the expense of the working man and woman. Where does the great self-appointed protector of the people's rights, Mr. Alexander, stand in this fight? We do not know. He is too busy "cussing" the committee to take any interest in this matter so vital to the pocketbooks of the voters."

Stand on Immigration.

"Where does he stand upon immigration? Does he stand, as I do, with the members of that great fraternity, the Junior Order, for the protection of this nation from unrestricted immigration?"

"We do not know. He is too busy 'courting' the dark vote of Fulton county to give consideration to this matter."

"Is he interested in the necessity of better markets and better marketing facilities for the farmer? I am. Is he interested in the proper compensation of the veterans of the World War and proper pensions for the Spanish War veterans? I am, but he has no time for such things as these."

"My opponents are not concerned with such matters as a new postoffice for Atlanta and better mail facilities for the entire district; a national soldiers' and sailors' home in this district and more federal aid for higher education. I am very much interested in these matters and pledge my service to the district in support of such measures."

Honest Service Pledged.

"If the people of the fifth district see fit to honor me with this position I pledge them honest, faithful and conscientious service. I promise them to devote my entire time to the service of the people of this district. I shall represent all of the people, fairly and equally."

"If the present fight upon white control in public affairs should succeed, we can look for a fight upon every nominee of the party hereafter. We can be sure that the negro will vote in ever increasing numbers and the white people will again be forced to fight the battle which our fathers won by the establishment of the white primary."

"I am not responsible for the rules of the primary. I am not to blame if you should not like some of those

who are supporting me. I have made no criticism of those who voted against the nominee of the party last year and there is certainly no such issue in this fight as there was in that. "Permit me to urge upon the democrats of the fifth district the necessity of forgetting the fight of last year. That is 'water over the dam.' We should join hands in an effort to all sections; for compensation and rebuild the grand old democratic party. We should unite to make it representative of the sentiments of the south it saved after the Civil War. We should make it the white-dry-American party. In doing this we can set an example for other sections of the southland we

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...more for his cotton and permit
...to have a delivery point for
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...of

the criminal procedure of the state.

In this campaign I have heretofore voted against the bill. I have not been called upon to discuss the other side of the question. I have not been called upon to assist in bringing about the much needed reform.

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Political - 1929

Party Affiliation.

History Repeats Itself

In the course of human events, history repeats itself, and in handling political affairs, there is no exception to this general rule.

It was just eight years ago that the Harding administration permitted itself to be deluded by a school of propagandists into believing that the Solid South could be broken and made permanently Republican if the distribution of patronage were placed solely in the hands of white people in the South, and the Negro excluded from participation in party control. President Harding and Postmaster General Hays were so thoroughly convinced of the possibilities of this impossible proposition that they fell for it, and assigned to the Honorable C. Bascom Slemph, of Virginia, the task of lily-whiteing the South, and excluding the Negro not only from officeholding in the South, but from participation in party affairs. Even further than that, they excluded him from voting or having any voice whatever in Republican affairs, as completely as the Democrats had done by law. Mr. Slemph got on the job; excluded the Negroes from all connection with the Republican Party in his state, and John Adams, who succeeded Will Hays, the then Chairman of the National Committee, called a convention in Georgia, independent of the regular organization, for the purpose of reorganizing a white Republican Party in our state.

At that time, we had a regular organization, okayed as regular at the same National Convention that nominated and elected Mr. Harding, president. This organization had functioned for fifty years, and had not missed sending delegates to a national convention during this half century. It had elected representatives to the Legislature, Congress, constitutional conventions, and what not, but it was not consulted as to the reorganization of the party in the state. There was no room for reorganization. The organization of which C. P. Goree had been elected head, Henry Lincoln Johnson, National Committeeman, B. J. Davis, Secretary, and John W. Martin, Treasurer was as regular as the nomination of President Harding.

But, the state was denied representation, denied a voice in its own affairs, the principles of home

rule and democracy destroyed, and foreigners and aliens, not citizens of Georgia, sent from headquarters in Washington, in violation of the plain statutes of our state called a convention in Atlanta, July, 1926 for the purpose of reorganizing the party; and did organize by electing one J. L. Phillips chairman of the Republican Party in the state, L. H. Crawford, vice chairman, and a state central committee of fifty persons. Admission was gained into this convention not by credentials in the regular way according to the customs and usages of the Republican Party, but by a letter signed by John Adams, of Iowa, Chairman of the National Committee, and Clarence Miller, of Minnesota, Secretary. This letter was the only credentials necessary—Mr. Phillips standing at the door to identify, as best he could, those to be admitted. The only qualification necessary was to be white.

Henry Lincoln Johnson, as National Committeeman, and the entire Republican organization was ignored, and the patronage handed over to the Phillips irregular organization; and it was then, and not until then, the patronage scandals began in Georgia. A white man travelled over the state and assessed federal officeholders a certain per cent of their salary, taking written pledges, and they had them to pay, or lose out. It was these irregularities that laid the foundation and caused all the corruption in Georgia that is disturbing the President now, and that has caused the Brookhart committee to exist. Ninety per cent of the irregularities dug up in the state of Georgia are things that happened under the bogus committee set up in Georgia by John Adams and Clarence Miller at the behest of President Harding and former National Chairman Will Hays.

At this irregular convention, Clarence Miller, of Minnesota, in violation of the laws of our state, was elected temporary chairman and presided. Present, aiding and abetting in this outrage, were Hon. Joe B. Keeling, of Indiana, Claude Houston, of Tennessee, and Billy McGinty, Assistant Sergeant at Arms of Ohio. Realizing the outrage that had been perpetrated against Georgia by his approval and consent, Mr. Harding, before he died, addressed a letter to Mr. Slemph, who had been chief advisor in the matter, in which he expressed

Republican

regret at the outrage, and stated, that he would correct it on his return from Alaska. The result is a matter of history. Mr. Coolidge succeeded the lamented president under the Constitution. He ignored entirely, and never made a single appointment upon the recommendation of the bogus Phillips committee. Henry Lincoln Johnson came into his own and controlled the patronage in Georgia up until the time of his death. To the National Convention in Cleveland, in 1924, the regular organization sent a delegation; the bogus organization also sent a delegation, placing two Negroes on it to deny that they had raised the color line. The Cleveland Convention unanimously seated the delegates of the regular organization, and turned out the representatives of the bogus organization, and the regular organization held control of affairs in Georgia up to the convening of the Kansas City Republican Convention in June, 1928 where a strong disposition was shown to throw all Negroes overboard and to lily white the party north and south.

The statement of the President issued a few days ago has been accepted by the public as a repetition of the effort of the Harding administration to disfranchise the Negro from the Republican Party as exclusively and completely as the Democrats had undertaken to disfranchise him in the South by constitutional amendment. Possibly the argument made by the lily whites, kluxers, and Negro-haters in general has made a greater impression on the President than was made on Mr. Harding because they could point to a break in the Solid South—four southern states having cast their votes for President Hoover. Mr. Hoover, being a human being as all of us are and not entirely above personal flattery, has been impressed, possibly because of his great personal popularity and his eminent mental and moral equipment, that the South would remain broken, and that it was not the questions of prohibition and religious bigotry that split the South, but that the South was being converted to the principles of the Republican Party and that the only thing in the way of the South thinking as the North, East, and West was the Negro question, and if he would rid the party of the Negro question by putting the Negro out of the party and taking from him his constitutional right to enjoy his political freedom, in common with other men, that it would greatly enhance the growth of the Republican Party in

the South.

Mr. Hoover is a good man, but he has listened, possibly, too much to the impossible. He has forgotten what he said in his speech of acceptance, that no man should be discriminated against because of his faith or color; that the principles of right and justice should always prevail; and that nothing should be done because it was expedient.

The Hoover administration is not traveling the route of the Harding administration, by undertaking to set up an opposition irregular organization against the regular organization, but it intends to reach the same purpose that the Harding administration had in mind—the exclusion of the Negro from participation in party affairs. It proposes to set up advisory committees in the different states to pass upon applicants for federal places in the southern states, which is equivalent to saying that the southern states need a guardian and are not capable of self-government. Therefore, we must provide a protectorate over them—something that the North, East, and West would not stand for. All of this is being done under the guise of a clean house, putting down corruption, and stopping the bartering of federal offices in the South. Yet, on these committees men have been named who are more corruptible than those whom the Hoover administration has disregarded in the regular organization—men who have attempted to buy judgeships and post offices, and who bought delegateships to the National Convention. Democrats and Negro-haters have been placed on the advisory committee in Georgia.

Truly, history is repeating itself, but the organization fought its way to victory under the Harding administration, and will fight its way to victory under the Hoover administration. Patronage is trash, but the principles of the party are eternal and indestructible. We won out in '24 without patronage, and we can win out in '32 without patronage. The administration can take the patronage from us, but not the principles handed down by Lincoln and perpetuated by McKinley, Roosevelt, and Coolidge. We will watch and wait, as President Wilson said, and abide our time, because in the end right will win. History is repeating itself in outlawing the regular organization, but a little later it will repeat itself in correcting the outlawry in the triumph of Truth and Righteousness.

STATE
COLUMBIA, S. C.

MAR 27 1929

Columbia Negro Republican Repudiates Organization of Party in This State

Says Men of His Race Tolerate Complaisant Delegates—Party Will Be Respected When it Becomes Respectable.

"When the national Republican organization in South Carolina shall be so handled as to deserve respect or confidence, it will have the support of men of intelligence, irrespective of race or color; today not to exceed five hundred men, all told, are giving it attention."

So begins a letter addressed to Negro Republicans in South Carolina by Joe H. Jackson, 2221 Richland street, Columbia, who urges those he addresses to demand a house-cleaning. "Are you..." he asks, in conclusion, "a man, and one who stands for the right, and done, as we are, with further participation in this farce, which has sent us as an organization to such a low depth?"

Jackson's letter, a copy of which he furnishes to The State, further expresses the dissatisfaction felt by him and his friends, in these terms:

"There is such general dissatisfaction, and has been so much of talk, that a few 'regulars'—sure enough Republicans—who have heretofore trained with the organization and seen it fall lower and lower year by year, shaped up and sent out the letter to find out how far this feeling of discontent reached; how deeply the condition now existing had impressed men of character and of standing like yourself."

"It is not an appeal for support of any person or clique—none of us have an ambition to lead—but as men we appreciate that we cannot longer be a party to the existing conditions, and preserve our own sense of honor or of responsibility to our race, or to our party."

"We reason that if enough men of character—colored men of each section—realize that some day they must stand up and act as men, else the condition of the Negro in South Carolina will never be improved, but our race will sink lower and lower in the estimation of our own race as well as that of the white people of our state."

"We owe it not alone to ourselves, but to our children to call a halt; take a stand, and make such change in methods as will send to every convention, county, district and state, men who as such, full appreciation of what the right to participate in such conventions means, will be bound by their own sense of honor and duty to their race as to insist upon the selection of men of character, men who will be a credit to us, who have the respect and confidence of all classes, men who can be expected to do our party honor and attract to it the support of others of equal character."

"We owe it to our race to do the things that will raise it to a higher plane, and to do this men of standing like yourself have to interest the best element of your section to join with you and have done with the present methods. Put a stop to the traffic in votes for any man, and let the purpose be as stated, to select and elect men of character."

"Today, our so-called organization is the laughing stock of the Democratic party, and you know we have not a thing that meets the approval of white or colored. While in fact, our own race, men of our color, control half the votes of South Carolina, and if we had sense to do that which we ourselves approved, we could command, in fact there would come to us the support of the whites which would make us a factor of importance to our state, and a real benefit would come to us later—better schools, better relations in every respect, and the respect and confidence of the public when we had shown we were men, no longer puppets to be bought and sold."

"Such a convention will choose its own leaders, chairman, secretary, treasurer, etc., and it would find plenty of worthwhile men who would feel honored to be selected by it."

"As the people of this country, subject to the rule of one man, throw off the yoke 150 years ago, so it becomes us with our intelligence to put our body and soul into such an effort, work up the matter in our conventions, let the best minds govern, send out as delegates men of character who are appreciative of what it all means, men who would see hell frozen over before they would let money govern this precious heritage, the right to cast a ballot for that which their heart and mind approve."

TIMES

MAR 21 1929

Negro Voters Are Sore At G. O. P. Heads

**Resent Action of County
Leaders in Denying Jobs**

to Members of Race

A "fight to the finish" on the Camden County Republican Organization was declared Tuesday night by the recently organized Negro Citizens' League of Camden, when more than 200 members, meeting at Odd Fellows' Hall, adopted a resolution protesting alleged slights in political patronage.

Declaring the county organization, which they long had supported, no longer cared for them as members, the league also adopted a resolution calling on the colored voters of Camden county to "resist the fight with our collective franchise power and policy fostered and maintained by any individual, or any party, which would lessen one quota, or impair in any wise, our constitutional rights."

The resolution, introduced by Frank H. Wimberly, solicitor for the league, also condemned action of the "county powers" in removing Thomas Hope, highest salaried colored man on the city payroll, as deputy city clerk and condemned the appointment of Malachi D. Cornish to the school board after the appointment of Oliver Bonds had been urged.

"There could be no mistaking the attitude of the Republican organization," Wimberly said. "We were frankly told we were not wanted; that none but bona fide, honest-to-goodness, iron-bound, rock-ribbed age-old organization Republicans, were desired; that even Republicans, independent in thought and possessors of clarity of vision and a fearlessness of expression, would find a more wholesome environment outside the folds of the David Baird Senior Colored Republican Club."

"The unwarranted dismissal of Thomas Hope, highest salaried Negro on the pay-rolls of the city, on the flimsy pretext of economy naturally added fuel to the flame. It was effrontery of the most nauseating character and an insult to the intelligence of the Negro voter."

"The refusal of the Republican Organization bosses to secede to the wishes of the David Baird Senior Colored Republican Club by naming Oliver Bonds, to the school board and the appointing of Michael D. Cornish in his stead, were, indeed, powerful factors in our equation of unrest and resentment."

"Then came the appointment of Dr. Roscoe Moore, a resident and voter in Camden, to the position of Assistant Medical Examiner, the physicians who completely ignored."

OBSERVER
HOBOKEN, N. J.

MAR 26 1929

COLORED REPUBLICANS PLAN FOR MEETING

The Colored Men's Regular Republican Association will hold its regular meeting at its headquarters, 354 Forrest street, Jersey City, on Friday night, April 5, at which time they will open their campaign for the election of commissioners for Jersey City.

President C. Bion Jones, together with his staff of officers, are making every effort to bring this organization up to the standard and assure all who attend a real political night.

The association meets regularly every first Friday at its headquarters. All voters are invited to join the forces. Other members of the official staff include A. Biassey, Dr. G. Warren Hooper, vice presidents; W. B. C. Chambers, secretary; Herbert R. Dixon, assistant; James M. Dixon, treasurer; John Brightwell, sergeant-at-arms; C. A. Hyte, chairman of the executive committee, with Henry G. Britt, Fred N. Carter, J. T. Saunders, Edwin B. Holden, Dr. F. J. Curlin, James W. Roberson, members of the executive committee; Robert Boswell, chairman.

Political - 1929

Republican

Party Affiliation

THE PRESIDENT WANTS TWO PARTY SYSTEM IN THE SOUTH

President Hoover has declared for a two party system in the South, for a clean Republican organization in each State and an end to patronage selling in those States. The President's stand sounds the death knell in politics to the Tolbert skeleton Republican organization in South Carolina which has maintained itself for practically twenty years by the sale of patronage and for that purpose alone. It has never existed for a single moment for a single honorable, honest, or sincere purposes. It should have been thrown into the discard years ago, and thoughtful Negroes who are acquainted with the malodorous conditions existing in South Carolina will welcome with rejoicing the glad news that the Tolbert regime in South Carolina is at an end.

The bright young men on the daily papers, always ready to give the Negro a jab, write pretty stuff in which they declare that the President has taken a stand for a party that is "white, respectable and effective."

That the President wants a party that is respectable and effective there can be no doubt but any assertion that he has any intention or thought of excluding Negroes, North or South, from the Republican Party we believe to be absolutely false.

In South Carolina Negroes derive no benefit from politics and for twenty years have taken no interest in conventions or elections. Disfranchised by Democrats and used as tools by the State organization the number who take active interest in politics has dwindled every year until those who attend precinct and county political conventions average less than fifty to the county.

The great majority of those who attend these meetings are paid workers of the organization; the balance are men of character and deep party interest but despair of hope for party progress and give their time and labor in the vain effort to maintain some degree of respectability in the party.

But the Negro of character and ability was never welcome into the organization by Tolbert and if he won a seat to the National Convention it was always by a hard fight against Tolbert who used every means within his power to defeat him.

The continuation of such organizations in the South as the Tolbert Republican organization means the continuation of corrupt, rotten, putrid organizations whose corruption is charged to the Negro and for which he is blamed and damned and for the maintenance of which

ninety-nine per cent of the Negro Republicans of the State are in no degree responsible, and are absolutely without interest in it.

Intelligent and thoughtful Negro men and women of the South will welcome the advent of the two party system in that section. They do not control now, they hold no offices now in the South and have nothing to lose but everything to gain, as under the two party system they will in time surely recover the franchise.

THE DISRESSED HOOVERCRATS

THE Hoovercrats and Lily Whites of the erstwhile Confederacy are considerably down in the mouth. In the last election they rallied around the G. O. P. banner and swung several of the Southern states into the Republican column. In several campaign speeches and private conversations they were assured by Colonel Horace A. Mann and other Dixie representatives of the G. O. P. that Southerners would be rewarded by much patronage for supporting Mr. Hoover. Naturally they expected one and probably two cabinet positions to go to Hoovercrats and faithful Lily Whites from the chivalrous South. They consequently awaited the announcement of the completed cabinet with bated breath. Alas, their hopes were dashed. Position after position was filled and no Southern name appeared on the roll of the lucky ones. True, E. L. Jahncke and P. J. Hurley, gentlemen from New Orleans and Tulsa, have been appointed to the Assistant Secretary - ships of the Navy and War, respectively, but the fledgling Republicans of the South are not satisfied. Worst of all comes the news that the dispensing of patronage will not be placed in their hands and that the Negroes have not been deprived of their voice in the party's affairs in Dixie.

There is little question about the desire of many in the Republican inner circle, Northerners as well as Southerners, to get rid of the Negro in the South or at least relegate him to a subordinate position in party councils. It is necessary, however, to face the facts. According to Robert R. Church, the bulk of Southern whites in the states recently carried by the G. O. P. can not be depended upon to stay in the Republican ranks, and most people acquainted with the situation can see that he is right. Moreover, the considerable defection of Northern Negroes from the Grand Old Party in the last election because they felt that the Negro had not been getting and was not going to get a square deal, constituted and still constitutes a serious problem which the Republican chiefs are not disposed to aggravate. Hence, while a few minor posts will be given to Hoovercrats and Lily Whites for the services last November, no open effort is going to be made at this time to relegate the Negroes to a status lower than they now occupy in party councils and influence.

These are sound tactics regardless of the distress they may occasion the Hoovercrats and the Lily Whites. The Northern Negro vote is considerable and its importance is out of all proportion to its size since in many localities it holds the balance of power. Had all of the Negroes in the North voted for Smith in the last election, Mr. Hoover might not now be sitting in the White House or at least his electoral vote

HOOVER IS TOLL NEGRO WANTS EQUAL CHANCE

John R. Hawkins, G.O.P.
Leader, Sends 919 Word
Memorandum To White
House

DISFRANCHISEMENT IN SOUTH IS CITED

Discrimination and Segregation In U.S. Civil Service Also Mentioned

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Protection against unfair treatment and the granting of equal opportunity were asked for the Negro of Herbert Hoover shortly before his inauguration, by John R. Hawkins, financier, who directed Republican campaign work among colored voters, it became known Wednesday when the memorandum to the President was made public.

Mr. Hawkins declared that equal opportunity under the Government had not been accorded to all groups of American citizens. He cited disfranchisement, elimination of the Negro from the councils of the Republican party, discrimination in the civil service and segregation in the Government departments as examples of the denial of equal opportunity to the Negro.

The full text of the memorandum of Mr. Hawkins to President Hoover follows:

"As we approach the time when you are to take oath as President of the United States and assume control as the executive head of our Government, I can not resist the feeling that it will not be improper for me to submit to you a memorandum of certain vital

the migration of Negroes from the South continues and by 1932 it is not unlikely that the political power of the Africans north of the Mason-Dixon line will be much greater.

things to which I hope you will give some consideration.

"Speaking as an humble representative of the colored people of America, I think it safe to say that for the last twenty years nothing has so heartened them as those memorable words in your speech of acceptance declaring that equality of opportunity is the right of every American—rich or poor, foreign or native-born, irrespective of faith or color.

Equal Opportunity

"Conservative, progressive and liberal thought and action have their only real test in whether they contribute to equal opportunity, whether they hold open the door of opportunity. If they do not they are false in their premise no matter what their name may be. Equality of opportunity is a fundamental principle in the test of our Government."

"I make bold to say our Government has not lived up to this test because the principle of equal opportunity has not been applied to all citizens alike. The colored citizens of America have suffered and are still suffering because of the failure on the part of our Government to apply this principle. To be specific let us cite cases.

Elective Franchise

"Among the fundamental rights and privileges of a republican form of government is that of elective franchise. Any set of people who are denied the privilege of exercising this right will be rendered powerless in helping to shape civic affairs in the community state or nation of which they are a part.

"That the colored citizens have been discriminated against and denied this right in certain sections of our country can not be denied; and it is confidently hoped and expected that under your administration this door of equal opportunity that has been shut against us will be opened to all citizens who can qualify under a fair impartial test.

"In asking for this privilege, the colored citizens do not want any special consideration as a favor. They do not want to be considered as wards or objects of charity and sympathy. All we want and ask for is that we be granted the same privileges, protected by the same laws, and given a chance to participate in the affairs of our Government under the same test as applied to other citizens.

Party Alignment

"Under our system of government, the responsibility of shaping platforms and directing civic policies is assumed by certain political parties to whose principles the voters subscribe. We believe in party fealty.

"We believe in party alignment, and as a rule the Negroes have aligned themselves with the Republican party because of their faith and belief in the bed-rock principles set forth in the platform of that party.

"We have been faithful and loyal in our support and we feel that the party should be faithful to us. Any attempt to eliminate Ne-

groes from the party councils or to deny them the privileges of participation in all that pertains to political activities will lower the standard of the high ideal proclaimed by Lincoln and Roosevelt and reaffirmed by you as our standard bearer.

Civil Service

"In a republic like ours a premium should be placed on efficiency and faithfulness to duty. This is not the case with us, as this rule or principle is ignored in many cases when it comes to colored persons serving in the various governmental departments. They are subjected to humiliating conditions and discrimination and often denied the benefits of promotion in line of efficient service. They have been refused assignment to work even after passing the required Civil Service examinations, certified to and sent up for appointment with the highest rating on the eligible list.

Discrimination

"In many cases colored persons have been notified of appointments and on written or telegraphic orders have come to Washington and reported for duty at a given salary named, and on appearing at the designated department or bureau have been turned away with the flimsy excuse that 'some mistake has been made somewhere.'

Photographs

"The method of requiring one to state the race identity and submit a photograph with the application for civil service examinations has been abused and is often a barr to equal opportunity for the colored applicant. It ought to be enough for one to indicate as to his or her nationality. To certify that one is an American citizen ought to mean more than to be classified as a member of a certain race or color or creed. Any other course is un-American.

Segregation

"In several of our Government departments there are regulations and practices enforced against colored employees that subject them to inconveniences and indignities purely because of their racial identity. These conditions can be and should be remedied, and I sincerely hope and pray that when you assume the duties of the Presidency you will see that this is done. Such action on your part will be hailed as one of the most important acts of any President since the days of the immortal Lincoln.

"My only apology for presenting you with this memorandum is that I want to see the colored people protected against unfair treatment and given the full benefit of 'equal opportunity.'"

Mr. Hawkins stated that he had expressed the wishes of the colored people. He desires comment and criticism from sources.

Mr. Hawkins called on President Hoover Thursday, accompanied by a delegation of fifty.

Only Two Colored Persons At G. O. P. Natl. Committee Luncheon

Committeewoman Asked Not To Attend—Hotel Denies Color Bar—Committee Acts To Halt All Future Jim Crow

WASHINGTON, D. C. — No future meetings or functions of the Republican national committee are to be held in any place at any time where all members of the committee can not attend, if the provisions of a resolution adopted at the committee meeting here March 6 are carried out, it became known Monday.

The action of the committee, it was learned, followed a luncheon given at the Mayflower Hotel on March 6 by Chairman Hubert Work in honor of former chairmen. The resolution was offered by National Committeeman Clarence C. Hamlin of Colorado.

Advised to Stay Home

The story regarding the luncheon that is current here is that Chairman Work sent for Eugene P. Booze of Mound Bayou, Miss., the husband of Mrs. Mary C. Booze, the national committeewoman for Mississippi, and told him that he wanted him to keep his wife and Mrs. George S. Williams, the national committeewoman for Georgia, from attending the luncheon because the Mayflower Hotel would not serve colored persons in its dining room.

The management of the Mayflower Hotel, it is stated, was questioned and emphatically denied that there was any truth in the statement that it would not serve the colored members of the Republican national committee.

Question Raised

When the national committee held an executive session, the question was raised. National Committeeman Hamlin offered his resolution and it was adopted.

At the work luncheon no colored member of the national committee was present. Only two colored persons were present in the dining room. They were Robert R. Church, of Memphis Tenn., and John T. Risher. Not being members of the committee, they were not luncheon guests but simply sat and listened to the speeches. Mrs. Williams, Mrs. Booze and Perry W. Howard, the national committeeman for Mississippi, were

Hoover's Drastic Change of Political Policy.

The Commercial Appeal observed at the time that Mr. Hoover's Elizabethton speech was the most significant of the campaign. It was in the course of the Elizabethton speech that Mr. Hoover outlined what his attitude would be toward the distribution of federal patronage.

He sized up the situation with a few terse remarks in which he said in effect that federal patronage should be dispensed in accordance with the wish of the better element of the community. Mr. Hoover did not make a scene or go on a rampage, but his remarks were satisfactory to any observing person who credited him with meaning what he said and possessing the gift of choosing the right word in which to express his meaning.

We considered Mr. Hoover's Elizabethton speech prophetic. The south did not have to wait long before witnessing the beginning of the fulfillment of the prophesy. We are informed by Mr. Hoover himself, who has abandoned the custom of having the White House spokesman do all his talking, that in the south, where the Republican party is on a respectable basis, the organization will be recognized, but even then it is encouraged to solicit the co-operation of representative persons who are politically independent.

In Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana where the Republican organization is an institution solely for the distribution of patronage on a commercial basis, it is going to be supplanted by an entirely new one, and respectable outstanding citizens will take the place of patronage peddlers.

For many years the negro has been the principal factor in Republican politics in the south. Some negroes, and some whites who need negro support in their political campaigns, will denounce President Hoover as unfriendly to the negro and ungrateful to him for assistance in the election. The charge of ingratitude may be speedily dismissed. The negro leaders did not support Hoover. They opposed his nomination in the convention and would have been glad to have seen him defeated in the election.

President Hoover cannot be charged with making sweeping changes because of race prejudice. He was actuated by facts which revealed a distressing political situation. The negro has failed pathetically during the years he has been in sole charge of the Republican party in the south.

We rejoice that Mr. Hoover is determined to place the standard of the Republican party in the south on a higher plane. It cannot fail to result in the elevation of Democratic morals, which at times have descended to a low ebb—a condition that must inevitably prevail when there is but one political party.

Mr. Hoover is not only doing service for his party, but for politics and the country.

It is said that Major "Kun Robert" Moton is to be the closest member of our race to President Hoover. Mr. Albion Holsey, secretary to Major Moton, left his post at Tuskegee to fiddle around in Washington during the last campaign. Maybe it was his through his influence that the contract made by the representative of the national Republican committee with many of our publications was so pre-emptorily and unceremoniously revoked. This we do know, Major "Kun Robert" Moton and his Friday man Holsey had absolutely nothing to do with Mr. Hoover's election. Neither is versed in politics or voting. Tuskegee and the National Negro Business league have been pawned off on the political chess board long enough already and there was a time when white men would listen to the claptrap about the "Tuskegee Influence" but the times and manners have changed. Major Moton has no more business having the ear of the president than have the other gentlemen who sallied forth from the voteless thorough of the south claiming that they had the balance of power in their rusty vest pockets. Mr. Hoover should deal with men who delivered the votes and who hold the confidence of the people.

Only Two Colored Persons At G. O. P. Natl. Committee Luncheon

things to which I hope you will give some consideration. "Speaking as an humble representative of the colored people of America, I think it safe to say that for the last twenty years nothing has so heartened them as those memorable words in your speech of acceptance declaring that equality of opportunity is the right of every American—rich or poor, foreign or native-born, irrespective of faith or color.

"Conservative, progressive and liberal thought and action have their only real test in whether they contribute to equal opportunity, whether they hold open the door of opportunity. If they do not they are false in their premise no matter what their name may be. Equality of opportunity is a fundamental principle in the test of our Government."

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"The method of requiring one to state the race identity and submit a photograph with the application for civil service examinations has been abused and is often a bar to equal opportunity for the colored applicant. It ought to be enough for one to indicate as to his or her nationality. To certify that one is an American citizen ought to mean more than to be classified as a member of a certain race or color or creed. Any other course is un-American.

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"In several of our Government departments there are regulations and practices enforced against colored employees that subject them to inconveniences and indignities purely because of their racial identity. These conditions can be and should be remedied, and I sincerely hope and pray that when you assume the duties of the Presidency you will see that this is done. Such action on your part will be hailed as one of the most important acts of any President since the days of the immortal Lincoln.

"My only apology for presenting you with this memorandum is that I want to see the colored people protected against unfair treatment and given the full benefit of 'equal opportunity.'"

Mr. Hawkins stated that he had expressed the wishes of the colored people. He desires commendation and criticism from sources. Mr. Hawkins called on President Hoover Thursday, accompanied by a delegation of fifty.

Committeewoman Asked Not To Attend—Hotel Denies Color Bar—Committee Acts To Halt All Future Jim Crow

WASHINGTON, D. C. — No future meetings or functions of the Republican national committee are to be held in any place at any time where all members of the committee can not attend, if the provision of a resolution adopted at the committee meeting here March 6 are carried out, it became known Monday.

The action of the committee, it was learned, followed a luncheon given at the Mayflower Hotel on March 6 by the National Woman's Work club, of which Mrs. C. C. Hamlin of Colorado is chairman.

Advised to Stay Home
The story regarding the luncheon that is current here is that Chairman Work sent for Eugene P. Booz of Mount Bayou, Miss., the husband of Mrs. Mary C. Booz, the national committeewoman for Mississippi, and told him that he wanted him to keep his wife and Mrs. George S. Williams, the national committeewoman for Georgia, from attending the luncheon because the Mayflower Hotel would not serve colored persons in its dining room.

The management of the Mayflower Hotel, it is stated, was questioned and emphatically denied that there was any truth in the statement that it then it would not serve the colored members of the Republican national committee of the Republican national committee held pending.

When the national committee held an executive session, the question was raised, National Committeeman Hamlin offered his resolution and it was adopted.

At the work luncheon no colored member of the national committee was present. Only two colored persons were present in the dining room. They were Robert R. Church, of Memphis Tenn., and John T. Risher, of the committee's place of patronage peddlers. Not being members of the committee, they were not luncheon guests but simply sat and listened to the speeches. Mrs. Williams, Mrs. Booz and Perry W. Howard, the national committeeman for Mississippi, were present.

Hoover's Drastic Denial of Political Policy.
The Commercial Appeal observed at the time that Mr. Hoover's Elizabethan speech was a significant statement of the course of the administration. It was in the course of the Elizabethan speech that Mr. Hoover outlined what his attitude would be toward the discrimination of federal employees.

President Hoover cannot be charged with making sweeping changes because of race prejudice. He was actuated by facts which revealed a distressing political situation. The negro has failed pathetically during the years he has been in sole charge of the Republican party in the south.

We rejoice that Mr. Hoover is determined to place the standard of the Republican party in the south on a higher plane. It cannot fail to result in the elevation of Democratic morals, which at times have descended to a low ebb—condition that must inevitably prevail when there is but one political party.

Mr. Hoover is not only doing service for his party, but for police and the country.

It is said that Major "Run Robert" Moton is to be the closest member of our race to President Hoover. Mr. Albion Holsey, secretary to Major Moton, left his post at Tuskegee to fiddle around in Washington during the last campaign. Maybe it was his through his influence that the contract made by the representative of the national Republican committee with many of our publications was so pre-emptorily and unceremoniously revoked. This we do know, Major "Run Robert" Moton and his Friday man Holsey had absolutely nothing to do with Mr. Hoover's election. Neither is versed in politics or voting. Tuskegee and the National Negro Business league have been pawned off on the political chess board long enough already and there was a time when white men would listen to the claptrap about the "Tuskegee Influence" but the times and manners have changed and Major Moton has no more business having the ear of the president than have the other gentlemen who sallied forth from the voteless boroughs of the south claiming that they had the balance of power in their rusty vest pockets. Mr. Hoover should deal with men who delivered the votes and who hold the confidence of the people.

Political - 1929

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

Political Program for 1929

By KELLY MILLER

THE year 1929 will mark a significant turn in the political history of the Negro race. Mr. Hoover comes into the kingdom with a background and an experience which are wholly commercial and material. He is an expert and exponent par excellence of economic issues.

From Hoover's several speeches, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments do not form a part of his universe of discourse. He owes the Negro little by way of political obligation, and has promised him nothing. The Negro has been eliminated as a political issue by both the major parties. They both solicit his vote in the pinch of an election with equal avidity, but with equal studiousness avoid the troublesome issue of his right to vote.

In years gone by the inauguration brought to Washington expectant Negro politicians from all parts of the land, hopefully awaiting to be appointed recorder of something or minister to somewhere. But no such hopes will swell the breast of the ambitious Negro politician on March 4. And yet the Negro continues a political entity which cannot be ignored by virtue of his electoral potentiality.

No political party would wisely ignore five million potential Negro votes, two-fifths of whom are active and assertive, unless this vote is denatured through inter-

nal incompetence to secure its just and righteous dues. The woman vote, the labor vote, the farm vote, the Ku Klux vote, will all be made to count powerfully in



— Kelly Miller —

behalf of the respective groups by virtue of skillful management. But the Negro is treated as a political nonentity simply by reason of his political imbecility.

No group may expect to secure

from the government any degree of consideration or favor except in so far as it has the courage to demand and the power to command. Every group of voters, except the Negro, has a formulated program which it presses in and out of season upon the powers that be. The Negro relies upon the gratis, grace and goodness of the administration. I have asked a dozen Negro politicians who assume to speak for the race in matters political "what may the Negro expect from the incoming administration?" The unvarying reply is that they have confidence in the good intentions of Mr. Hoover. The Negro should know to his bitter regret that good administrative intentions form the best paving material for the streets of hell.

Once upon a time there was a political leader, Clarence W. Matthews by name, who formulated a program for the race embodied in a statement of fourteen points. This program was indeed temperate in its demands. These fourteen points were presented to President Coolidge, whose administration was bubbling over with good intentions for the race, and yet they were waived aside with the left hand because there was no political pressure back of them to give the demands effectiveness.

I suggested some weeks back that there should be called a race-wide conference to deliberate and formulate a political program to be presented to the incoming ad-

ministration. All Negro politicians can readily agree upon the principle of such a program, although the personnel of expectant political receivers might prove to be the apple of discord. Such a program cannot be made effective by mere inside persuasion on the part of those who claim to have the ear of the President.

This thing cannot be done in a corner. This program should be formulated and presented before the fourth of March, so as to become an essential part of the administration's agenda, and not merely a negligible aftermath.

The Republican and Democratic National Committees are planning for permanent organizations so as to function more effectively between national conventions. Both of these bodies have adopted the policy of setting up Negro auxiliary committees to keep in finger touch with the Negro voters who might be disposed to follow the political fortunes of their respective parties. Why should not both parties set up permanent auxiliaries to hold the Negro vote in line?

At present the Negro's political interest is intermittent. It breaks forth only during quadrennial campaigns. There is no consistent plan or persistent procedure. All that either party wants from the Negro is his vote; but the Negro wants for himself all of the rights and prerogatives involved in that vote. To secure this he must keep his eye everlastingly on the nail.

and single-handed talked and negotiated with every European leader long before we ourselves got into the war.

Wouldn't his real personal opinion and absolute down to earth knowledge of what happened during those eventful years, be the greatest thing I could possibly know? That little fellow knows MORE about the war than any man in America. Well, sir, do you know I introduced him to the audience, for here was a fellow who I knew that nine-tenths of them after all the reading about him had never seen him, and he got one of the biggest receptions I have heard in the Theater. Pershing's was the biggest.

Well, the Automobile Guys all got out of town. I have given the whole industry one year to put a door knob or fastener on a car, that everybody in the car don't have to take turns after

you get started, slamming it to see if it's fastened. If you had to slam house doors like you do auto doors to keep 'em shut, people wouldn't use 'em. They would get used to climbing in through the windows. That's why you see so many Chouffers; there is very few families have members strong enough to open an automobile door. You first turn the handle, then you start trying to push it with your hand.

Finds New Job for Raskob

You soon find that don't work, then you try and get your knee against it and see if that won't push it open. There has been more people mashed their fingers in an automobile door being slammed by somebody else in the party, than there was minor casualties in the war. If all mashed fingers from jamming automobile doors was laid end to end it would build a corduroy road of fingers across the continent. If Raskob will get his mind on that and that Democratic deficiency he will be doing a greater good than arguing with those Republicans.

You can't get nowhere arguing with a Republican. They got the most votes. It's just like trying to win an argument with the Boss. Or a clerk arguing with a customer. Don't you remember the old Slogan, that was originated by John Smith when he first started trading with the Indians, "The customer is always right, but give nothing back." That's the way it should be with the Democrats. "The Republicans are always right." Of course we all know they are not, in fact I doubt if they ever was right, but as long as they got the most votes why how you going to argue with 'em?

Dr. Moton's School Sings

Last spring traveling down in Alabama, I had a chance to go by the great Negro school of Tuskegee, founded by Booker T. Washington. Had a great time there. Heard eighteen hundred trained voices sing Negro Spirituals, AND HOW. Why it's the best run place you ever saw. Wonderful buildings, beautiful grounds; why it's bigger than Harvard, and got a better football team. Well, there is a great fellow runs it, Dr. Moton. He has had it ever since Booker T. died, and he was Washington's right-hand man before that.

Well, he is a great fellow, he was in to see me yesterday, he had just come by Washington and had a long chat with President Coolidge, and one with the next batter. He told Mr. Coolidge a story and he said the President laughed like everything at it, he and Mr. Coolidge was talking about how the Negroes had kinder stayed out of the last election, that is as a race.

Calls It White Folks Row

HERALD

JAN 27 1929

Will Rogers Finds Motor Industry's Need Is Anti-Finger-Mashing Door

Humorist Proposes Raskob Quit Arguing With Republicans and Give Time to Devising Real Improvement

By Will Rogers

Well, all I know is just what I read in the papers, and what I gaze at out over the footlights while trying to act a fool for the Natives. You know, a

fellow that was out in front the other night and come back in my dressing room, and we had a fine visit. And funny thing it was the first time I had ever met him personally. I thought I had personally run onto about all the men that have been mixed up in our National affairs. But here was one that I honestly believe had more influence on American affairs in our generation than any other ten men, and that would include Presidents too. It was

Colonel House.

Just think the part that played during the entire eight years of the Wilson administration.

Just think of a quiet little fellow from away off down in those cedar breaks of that wide old State of Texas, holding no office, having no official capacity, yet really controlling the destinies of perhaps not only our 110 millions, but the ultimate outcome of millions in other countries, he alone

A White man bought a pig from old Negro Jim Davis, took him home and the old "Shoat" got out and went back home. Another White man came along and bought the pig, was hauling him home when he met the first buyer, who saw the pig and recognized him, asked about him and found they had both bought him. They went back to have it out with old Jim.

"Yes sir Gentlemen you both bought him, but do you know I has always heard that you white fellows is so much smarter than us Niggers, now you all ought to be smart enough to go off and settle that matter among yourselves without coming and axing a poor old ignerant nigger to help you out." And thats the way Dr. Moton told Mr. Coolidge they did during the late Republican uprising. Let the White Folks fight it out among themselves.

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SOUTHERNER CLAIMS WHITE SUPREMACY GOT BLOW IN LAST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Eagle

(Capital News Service Inc.)

Fearing that the results of the last election spell doom to the traditional one-party system and the white primary of the South, through the increased importance of Negro votes, Southern Democrats, in desperation, plead for new legislation which will insure white supremacy and reduce the possibility of Negro rule without the revival of shot-gun tactics of Reconstruction days.

Pierre Crabites, a Louisiana Democrat, Judge of the International Tribunal at Cairo, in an article appearing in the current edition of the North American Review, "A White South, or Black?" calls upon the best minds of the country to devise some means whereby the "immediate, present, and impending catastrophe" of Black domination may be averted.

In its "By Way of Introduction," the Review says: Crabites "writes as a Southerner, a Democrat and a Catholic, with profound concern for the future of his native states in his native land, in these days of new political revolutions." And that "the heart-

felt sincerity of his opinions is as evident as are the candor and courage."

Crabites predicts blood shed in 1932 and subsequent elections unless some immediate and concerned action is taken by the Southern whites. He "pleads for white primaries in the South as the alternative to Negro rule and a recurrence of disorder and bloodshed" in a 2,000 word article. His opening paragraphs read as follows:

"The South has never been betrothed to the Democratic party. It has long been wedded to the cause of White Supremacy. The Houston Convention refused to recognize these two salient facts. It received its answer on November 6, 1928.

"The staggering vote polled by Mr.

Hoover throughout the eleven states of the old Confederacy fills me with concern. I am not writing as a Democrat. That party, as such, means comparatively little to me. I am not speaking as a Catholic, although I appreciate the force of the blow my fellow churchmen have had as a result of the religious strife awakened by the candidacy of Governor Smith. It is solely as a Southerner that I am raising my voice.

"There has been a break in the solid white phalanx of ten states which until 1928 had never wavered in their allegiance to Caucasian domination. The rent is as evident in the Commonwealths that voted for the New Yorker as it is in those that went for the Californian. It must be repaired. And this work should be undertaken at once. If conditions be left as they are, blood will flow, sooner or later.

"It will serve no useful purpose to put the blame on the Irish for having led the South. It will mean nothing to indict Simmons, Heflin and Co. or treason. The thing to do is to

work for a remedy. And it is of primary importance to take cognizance of the gravity of the peril."

THE NEGRO NOT MENTIONED

Much comment has been made over the fact that President Hoover is his inaugural address did not specifically mention the Negro. But just why should he? The Negro constitutes a part of the United States just like other racial groups even if he is treated as an orphan.

Maybe, the fact that every President from Grant down, save President Wilson, had something special to say about the Negro, caused the omission of President Hoover to be noticeable.

These good expressions however did not prevent the Negro from being treated worse than foreigners. The omission of President Hoover cannot and will not cause him to be treated any worse just as if he had said anything would not have caused him to be treated any better. Applesauce isn't much good anyway and it is just as well that nothing in particular was said about how the colored race should be treated. What is needed anyway is more action and less words. If President Hoover will only treat the Negro just as an American citizen, giving recognition to his worthiness, he need never say a special thing about him. And in this we hope he will depart from the "Coolidge policies," for President Coolidge could say as nice a thing about him as anybody in the world, but when it came to real recognition he was as absent minded as the worse.

SLEEPING DOGS DOWN SOUTH

The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the constitution have long been sleeping dogs, so far as their observance down south was concerned, and politicians have been quite willing to let them lie. Developments are rapidly focusing the spotlight of publicity upon them, however. Breaking of the solid south in the last national election has whetted the desires of the Republican party for a greater conquest down south.

President Hoover has displayed considerable interest in cleaning up the party in the south. G. O. P. leaders frankly admit conditions in the party there have been deplorable.

However the southern end of the party will never be able to meet the problem of the Negro voter honestly and gain white adherents in the south in great numbers. That is, it can not meet the problem honestly if it is sincere in its stand for support of the eighteenth amendment upon which it stood in the last election.

The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments freed and enfranchised the Negro and guaranteed him the same right to vote as the white man. The amendments are disregarded in the majority of southern states.

By maintaining a solid white party the white man down south keeps the Negro from voting in nomina-

tions. This party has been Democratic since the Civil War.

The real fights for offices down south are in the nominations, while the actual election days pass with but just enough persons voting to assure the elections being legal. There is nothing in the law to prevent the Negro going to the polls on election day and out-voting the whites where he outnumbers the whites, but he does not do so. In some sections where Negroes are preponderant their votes are simply thrown out if they come to the polls and in some sections they are told they will not be allowed to vote. In most parts of the south however the whites outnumber the Negroes and by a white primary they select their candidates. Election days therefore are mere formalities.

The south does this openly and above-board. It is the opinion there that it would be wrong to observe the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. Practically without exception the same voters who think it right to disregard these amendments censure New York, where people think it right to disregard the eighteenth amendment.

It is proposed to have a lily white G. O. P. in the south. This would mean that the Republican party would go south and preach disregard for the constitution while it fights aggressively to uphold it in the north.

Now that the sleeping dogs have been aroused the solid south, which is politically a white south, may become a white elephant to either party of its allegiance. It is becoming more and more difficult to explain those sleeping dogs while preaching upholding of the constitution.

The question of reapportionment in Congress on the basis of voting population may never become a real issue. It would mean a heavy loss of southern

situation, and some of them already have pounced upon the south's sleeping dogs.

representation for the Negro is counted in the census with dreams of further conquest along with clean-up ideas. The clean-up could go too far to suit the southern voters.

It is impossible to shut eyes any longer to the disregard of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments in the south. The wets are bringing up all their ammunition for the approaching crisis in the prohibition sleeping dogs. It brought the G. O. P. down upon

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~~PRESIDENTIAL~~ ELECTION

(Capital News Service) (Tues)

Hoover throughout the eleven states

(Capital News Service, Inc.)
Fearing that the results of the last of the old Confederacy fills me with election spell down to the traditional concern. I am not writing as a Democrat. That party, as such, means comparatively little to me. I am not created important to the Negro votes, Southern Democrats, in desperation, pleaded for new legislation which will insure white supremacy and reduce the possibility of Negro rule without the revival of shot-gun tactics of Reconstruction days.

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The question of reapportionment in Congress on the basis of voting population may never become a real issue. It would mean a heavy loss of southern

representation, for the Negro is counted in the census upon which representation is based. Representation may never become an issue, but observance of the constitution is the cry of the day. It is an issue. The south, in its eagerness to unhold the right of

it with dreams of further conquest along with clean-up ideas. The clean-up could go too far to suit southern voters. It is impossible to shut

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Political - 1929

Party Affiliation.
NEWS & COURIER
CHARLESTON, S. C.

APR 25 1929

Republican.

WORLD
APR 23 1929

The Latest Negro Uprising

The uprising of the colored newspapers against the President, based on the accusation that he is adopting a new policy favorable to the recognition of Lily White Republican organizations in the South, is not unnatural, and one must have some sympathy with the wounded feelings of these people. One must have sympathy with wounded feelings whether or not there be a real cause for them.

The angry buzzing of these negro organs suggests questions. What have the South-Southern Republican state machines heretofore done for the Republican party and wherein have they influenced the Republican party to do anything for themselves?

Overwhelmingly, the Southern negroes are an agricultural people. They number five or six million of farmers, perhaps more. When and where have they asked for farm relief? Beyond airing their eternal grievances about the suffrage and Jim Crow car laws have the negro newspapers and the negro leaders revealed either interest or information in respect of the economic problems of negroes in the South as they are related to politics?

If the Southern negroes care nothing about economics, if they have no other concern than to vote, why should they vote? As long as they are Republicans, they must be protectionists. In what protected industry, forsooth, are they engaged? Probably no other as numerous a group of the American people derive as little benefit from protective tariffs as do these negroes, no other is so heavily penalized by them.

White farmer Republicans at least demand that their party show them consideration in fiscal legislation, they have driven Mr. Hoover and his administration to talk about farm relief if to do nothing more, but negro Republicans virtually ignore everything economic to nurse political antagonisms.

In the South the white Republicans, exclusive of those active in maintaining the state machines and manipulating the negroes, believe in Republican policies. They are employers and would deny negroes access to whiskey for what is at bottom the same reason that caused Southern slaveholders seventy years ago to deny negroes freedom to run about at night.

The number of these white Republicans, whose voices in party affairs until now have been stifled, is not large, but is re-

spectable and growing. One may be at odds with them about protection, but one would be silly to deny that they are useful citizens and gentlemen of high character, socially and otherwise as acceptable as the best of Democrats. We have in Charleston a few of them who are among the most desirable people in our population. The News and Courier wishes that a hundred thousand Republicans of the type of these might come into South Carolina and the more of them coming the less would be the irritation and apprehension on account of the negroes.

If the purpose of President Hoover and his advisors is to give these people a chance, it is the first time that a Republican administration purposes to give the Republican party a chance in the South. There can be no political party that is not a menace unless it shall have character, and the South-Southern Republican state machines heretofore have had no character. In this state the utter futility and degradation of the Republican machine have removed from the Democratic party the incentive to be decent and, at times, it has been a dirty and ignorant machine too, though never to be compared with the wholly contemptible and picayune thing that the Republican machine is.

No Republican party of character is possible in the South if it shall be a negro party, and Mr. Hoover and his friends have not learned that, after more than half a century of Southern Republican failure, the only possible conclusions are that they are blind or that they desire machines in presidential election years.

The time may come and should come when in the South the better and more capable negroes will be cautiously admitted into both parties. The News and Courier believes that the Democratic party in South Carolina should take the initiative and invite, under rules of careful restriction, these choicer negroes to come into the Democratic party. We do not think that it is wise or fair now, as it was thirty years ago, to force the better negroes into a posture of suspicion and enmity toward the white Democracy and compel them to maintain it. That is what we are doing, and we are doing it because there is a dearth of sagacity and vision in the white Southern Democratic leadership.

The Political Undertow

Special Despatch to The World

WASHINGTON, April 22.—On the face of it, the President's announcement of the ten fatal objections to the debenture plan as a method of taking care of the surplus crops, and thereby insuring the farmers' prosperity, is a victory for the Senate, as it has compelled him to abandon his theory that he could remain aloof from legislation. This theory, of course, was calculated to relieve him of embarrassment in the event of political pressure running counter to what seems to him economically sound and governmentally wise.

He did not want to be smoked out on this particular issue. Indeed his announcement of his purpose to avoid interference by the executive in the functions of the legislative branch of the Government was incited by it. By the same token the Senators from the wheat and corn country were determined that he should bear his share of responsibility. It was because of him that they apostacized from their allegiance to the equalization fee which occupied the same place in the 1928 bill that the debenture plan does in the measure now before Congress.

They had to promise their constituents that Hoover would have a solution for their problem and they could not stand out for the equalization fee without forfeiting their party regularity. Norris of Nebraska was the only one of them who had the courage to bolt his party nominee on farm relief.

Drove Him to It

Naturally the men who took the plunge for Hoover expected him to go to the front on the ticklish question and when he balked they proceeded to drive him by putting the debenture clauses in the bill he insisted they had to frame.

They, or at least most of them, had no more faith in the bonus process than he had, but the big farm organizations were crowding them and they shot it in, and Hoover, after a brief resistance, succumbed and gave them the message they wanted. At that they really bluffed him, for there was small chance at any time that the debenture feature could pass. It would have been better had he taken the initiative, for Congress, having learned that he is vulnerable, will try to ride him henceforth whenever it seems expedient.

It is a fortunate thing that he did not prove stubborn, for had he waited until the bill came to him it might have caused the failure of the whole extra session of Congress.

While it is impossible to forecast the

Michelson

outcome of the new situation the probabilities are that before this survey of the situation is printed McNary or Oregon, and various others will have abandoned the measure, which they never were really for, and will be busying themselves in reconciling the minor differences between the Senate act and the House production which, by an elaborate process, takes \$500,000,000 out of the Treasury to finance grain corners in the Produce Exchanges under the pleasant pseudonymism of "orderly marketing and stabilization." It all may sound pretty bad but it is not so very different from what Coolidge offered the farm crowd when he thought the raging of the grangers was real.

Democrats May Fight

There is some possibility of Hoover's delayed denunciation of the debenture subsidy producing the contrary effect from that anticipated. Now that it is known he would veto a bill that embraced export duty various thrifty Senators may seize the opportunity of displaying their friendship for the farmer without cost. The Democrats, for example, can hardly resist the chance to make trouble. They lost a number of seats in the last election and hope to regain them next year.

They are perfectly safe in support of the debenture plan, for even if they and the Progressives could put it over Hoover would stop it, but there may be in the clash some political capital. This sounds pretty sordid, but it isn't really any more disingenuous than the President's talk of the man-date from the recent election.

The farmers wanted what Lowden offered. Their true attitude toward Hoover was expressed in their pre-convention cries of indignation and threats to bolt if he were nominated. They were in earnest at the time, but when it came to choosing between the Secretary of Commerce, even though they deemed him Coolidge's inspiration to turn them down, and wet, Catholic Al Smith, they remembered that they were Republicans.

With this history in mind, why should President Hoover have any fear of political consequences to himself because he steps on the debenture business? They may testify their wrath by kicking out a Senator or a few Congressmen next year, but it is the safest of all bets that when 1932 comes around they will vote for Hoover again—or Coolidge or whatever other Republican happens to be the candidate.

That Negro Revolt

It is a good deal the same thing with the Negro voters now in revolt because of the President's announced intention to have the Republican Party in the

South reorganized on Lily White lines. Anybody reading the Negro newspapers would assume that the tomatoes would not stop beating until Hoover is wiped off the political map. They are, according to the proclamation of their excited organs, about to teach him that he cannot lightly disregard the race that has been the backbone of his party in the South and has preserved Indiana, Ohio and Illinois to the Republicans in election after election.

It is a demonstrable fact that the G. O. P. could not carry a single border State if the dusky voters cast their ballot according to their present bitter frame of mind.

Like the Western farmers, they are saying that Hoover broke his campaign promises to them, but, still like the Western farmers, they are not very convincing when they talk of uniting to punish Mr. Hoover.

As election time approaches they probably will receive a sop in the shape of some unimportant patronage. They may hold a few minor jobs in Washington as a method of extra insurance to some of the Representatives who have large black elements in their districts, but it is doubtful if, so long as Hoover is President, we will see another Negro National Committeeman, Collector of the Port or Assistant Attorney General.

They have not yet found a formula under which they can oust Perry Howard from the National Committee. He was acquitted promptly on the first charge brought against him of trafficking in Federal offices, and the probabilities are that the present case will not result differently.

Whether the failure to convict was due to the feeling that it would not be decent to jail a black man for what many white Southern politicians have done ten times to his once or because Democratic jurymen—the trials are in Mississippi—see no reason they should help the Republicans get rid of an incubus, or if there is a real lack of evidence makes little difference. Perry Howard is now a racial martyr, but nobody thinks seriously that that is going to make Democrats of his people.

OTHER PARERS SAY

POSSIBLE REARRANGEMENT

[The Daily Oklahoman]

More is involved in Mr. Hoover's plan of strengthening his party at the South rather than the creation of a strong southern Republicanism. It may involve important party changes at the North. For it is not easy to discriminate against Negroes below the line without stirring Negro antipathies above the line. The rejection of Negro leaders in the black belt may conceivably lead to Negro resentment in the northern states.

No plan that Mr. Hoover can present will make southern Republicanism formidable if it includes any effort to force the 15th amendment generally. Few southern Caucasians will support a crusade for general Negro enfranchisement. Nevertheless, southern Republicanism commands the support of any great number of southern whites until it accepts the southern view of Negro suffrage, and when that is done by the president and his lieutenants, there is danger of a Negro revolt at the North.

In numerous northern states where Negro disfranchisement has never been practiced the Negro vote is a powerful factor. Without that vote several northern states now uniformly Republican would not be Republican at all. It therefore would become a serious matter in a national sense for the president to embrace a program that ignores the 15th amendment and to accept the southern view of suffrage. In trying to make southern states doubtful the administration might easily make northern states doubtful also.

Primarily the Hoover program seeks better government by the creation of the two party system in the heavily Democratic states. Its first purpose is to develop a healthy minority party under competent leadership and the appointment of better men to federal office. It is more a matter of good government than a matter of partisan tactics. But the partisan element is there, nevertheless, and it possesses many potentialities. An extremely remote potentiality, but a possible one, is the conversion of the Republican party to lily-white standards and the movement of northern Negroes into the Democratic lines. This result will become strongly probable if Mr. Hoover goes so far as to sanction an ignoring of the 15th amendment in the deep South.

MR. HOOVER SPEAKS

President Hoover believes that ALL laws, both state and national, should be enforced if we are to do away with lawlessness. Laws generally. He believes this because he said so to more than 1,000 representatives of the press at a banquet in New York Monday night. Contrary to the impression American citizens had about Mr. Hoover, he is not an advocate of the enforcement of one law over another.

Here is exactly what he said: "Respect for and obedience to the law does not distinguish between federal and state laws. A

surprising number of our people, otherwise of responsibility in the community, have drifted into the extraordinary notion that laws are made for those who choose to obey them. We are reaping the harvest of these defects. More than 9,000 human beings are lawlessly killed every year in the United States. Little more than one-half as many arrests follow. Less than one-sixth of these slayers are convicted, and but a scandalously small percentage are adequately punished. No part of our country, rural or urban, is immune to this record of crime."

What Mr. Hoover said is absolutely true and based upon accurate figures. The crime list in this country far exceeds that of any other country. And the federal authorities, including the presidents of the United States, are more responsible than any other persons or group of persons in America. Indifference to one law can only result in contempt and indifference to all other laws. For 50 years the United States has gone about its business of ignoring a large per cent of its citizens because of their race. Laws have been made discriminating against them and have been rigidly enforced in our courts, while laws giving them the same rights, privileges and protection as other citizens have been ignored. Our presidents have either ignored this phase of the national question altogether or have treated in a facetious manner, somewhat on the order of Former President Calvin Coolidge who, in addressing his remarks directly to the dark section of the American citizenry, declared:

"This does not include any license to injure others materially, physically or morally, to incite revolution or violate the established customs which have long had the sanction of enlightened society."

Anyone who knows anything at all about the situation in America knows that this was unnecessary. We have never, as a race, injured others materially, physically or morally. It has always been the other way around. It is the white people of this country who, with malicious intent, have injured us. Not only have they passed devastating laws against us, but they have gone outside the pale of all existing laws in their zeal to keep us from reaping the emoluments of citizenship.

All along the line our chief executives have emphasized the importance of enforcing some laws and have deliberately ignored others which are just as important. And those who have violated one law with sanction of "enlightened society" have been encouraged to violate others. That is why Mr. Hoover's talk was so appropriate. It doesn't matter to us what prompted him to urge the enforcement of ALL laws, we know that it can be taken literally, and we call special attention to it with the hope that it will result in some consideration being given to certain laws which have to do with the inalienable rights and privileges of all American citizens at home as well as abroad, and black as well as white!

TALKING BACK TO HOOVER

Incidents follow rapidly indicating that the American people chose Mr. Hoover to be their public servant but not a dictator. Though he has not fully realized that a leader in democratic-republican government, is not a position carrying full power to act, except when conferred by special legislation, as in the event of war, he naturally brings over from his many jobs and former habits of thought, the tendency to tell people what to do and to have them act accordingly.

An engineer, a business executive, operating through the pay envelope and the cash register, differs from a public administrator, acting through the will of the electorate. Having had no such experience, having held no elective position, Mr. Hoover's mistakes are to be expected, and were seen by those who opposed his nomination and election.

His first mistake has been in trying to eliminate the colored people from the councils of the political party which had its origin in their needs and rights as native born citizens.

In the face of such an attempt by him, those citizens of color who dare to realize the expression of their rights and privileges, have sent one of their number to Congress, a branch of the government co-ordinate with Mr. Hoover's own position.

Newspapers speaking for colored citizens have dared to criticize Mr. Hoover's actions, and will continue. They influence and weaken public support of his policies.

Unable to sense the ease with which a minority may change into a majority in American public opinion, Mr. Hoover has acted as if he were supported by a board of directors composed of the votes of those who registered their choice last November.

In national policies he has desired a change in the immigration laws which were adopted after careful consideration both of European conditions and our own national needs and fears.

Here we have the engineer thinking of his labor supply rather than the statesman thinking of the needs of his country.

Congress disagrees with him, and surely Congress knows more about the welfare of the public.

In asking for farm relief, Mr. Hoover opposes financial support for whatever is recommended, despite the fact that money, and millions of it, is what the farmer has found it difficult to get at rates which agreed with the terms upon which he was forced by nature to operate his business.

Here again, Mr. Hoover is thinking in terms of the man with commercial and industrial experience, who regards financial aid as the right of those alone who can promise rapid turnover and reasonably assured profits.

As a trained man and an engineer, Mr. Hoover may change his course to get around the obstacles; if not, we promise him a Congress two years hence that will give him a more interesting experience than any work in mining engineering.

If he doubts it, let him read the history of Grover Cleveland.

The American people have a way of talking back to their public servants; this is a government of, for and by the people.

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Party Affiliation

NATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Herbert Hoover will become President Hoover, Monday. Much has been written about the Negro and the place he will fill or will not fill in the coming administration.

First, we would call attention to the fact that the majority of Negroes in the United States live in the South and they are politically disfranchised by the consent of the Republican party, now in power and will in all likelihood be for the next four years.

But, disfranchisement does not stop in the Democratic South and at the polls, it reaches up into the Republican party and on into the White House and smites Federal appointments. The last two Republican presidents have the magnificent total of three colored appointees to their credit.

And it does not stop even at the White House, but the supposed nonprejudiced Civil Service Commission has been invaded and the Negro is disfranchised in the examinations and appointments by this non-political commission. By the subtle use of the nefarious photo clause, started by the Democrats as a pretended war expedient and perpetuated by the Republicans as the line of least resistance in eliminating and continuing the disfranchisement of the Negro.

However, the situation of the Negro in the north is somewhat different from that of his brother in the south. The Negro in the north can and does exercise his franchise. His experience of the past ten years has made him more politically minded which has produced results. He is getting more and more of the "Show me." And is fast forgetting that famous one of Fred Douglass—"The Republican party is the ship, all else is sea." As an evidence of this fact, a Negro was regularly nominated and ran for Congress on the Democratic ticket, in the election last November, in the 12th Congressional district in Missouri. Negroes are holding offices under Democrats in New York and held them under the last Democratic administration in Chicago.

On the other hand there are 14 Negroes in State Legislatures in the north and several aldermen in Chicago, Cleveland, and New York City. And we have one Negro Congressman here now from Illinois to go into office along with Mr. Hoover.

With these and other facts before us we can readily see that we have at least two problems—a northern and a southern one, and it is therefore evident that no one Negro is capable of speaking, nationally, for the race—of being the Negro arbiter. Booker Washington held that hand with Roosevelt, but both of them are dead. We have a new Negro and a new day and beginning with Monday a new administration. There is not a Negro in the United States who can assume to speak for all the Negroes in this country any more than one Jew can speak for all the Jews with their population about one-third of that of the Negro or one Irishman for all the Irish, or one German for all the Germans.

A southern Negro, self appointed, cannot speak for the Negro in the north. Their problems and their politics are quite different. Does the southern farmer speak for the northern farmer on the much discussed farm relief? No, their problems are different. Does the western fruit growers speak for the eastern dairymen? Then why should one self-appointed Negro assume to speak for all the Negroes in the United States? He can't do it.

The northern Negro has, and exercises his right of franchise. He can actually vote men into and out of office. He is elected to office and thereby becomes a real factor in the political machine. The Negro in the south, while having the potential power, is denied the vote.

It is said that Mr. Hoover is a "Bull Dog" and that his mind is made up. Such may be the case. So was Harding's mind made up, and so has Coolidge's mind been made up. And the Negro has been disfranchised right on. That made up mind has alienated many Negro votes. If Mr. Hoover's mind is made up to listen to one Negro, as the report has it, as the spokesman for the race, and that Negro coming from the lower south, Mr. Hoover may find a definite turn of northern Negro votes in 1930, and still more in 1932.

It is perfectly all right for the Negro of the south to represent the southern situation; but it is entirely out of place for a disfranchised southern Negro to attempt to represent the whole race without its consent.

Several pseudo-politicians have been gum-shoeing around in Washington for the past fortnight and is letting it be known that they are

General.

representing Dr. Moton of Tuskegee, who is aspiring to become the official spokesman and arbiter of the race before President Hoover. It is true, "Failure" may be written now for the next administration, as it concerns Negroes.

During the Coolidge campaign of 1924, these same men released a passionate plea to the Negro to "Have Faith in Massachusetts." Was this advice sound? On the basis of that advice and in the light of the subsequent events of the man from Massachusetts, how can any individual have the nerve to assume to speak for the Negroes of this country?

Mr. Hoover has declared for an equal economic opportunity. We heartily agree with him and he will have our support in functioning along that line. The Negro needs improved economic opportunity—not as wards of the government, but as citizens of this Republic, who have long been denied practically every economic opportunity.

The economic struggle of the Negro is the most pressing and important that confronts the race today. It should be the first considered by the new administration. May President Hoover

"Urge them while their souls are capable of this ambition,

Lest zeal, now melted by the windy breath

Cool and congeal again to what it was."

Hopkinsville, Ky., New Era

Wednesday, March 27, 1929

A STEP FORWARD

Once upon a time a Negro who was about to be hung for the crime of murder was asked a few minutes prior to his execution if he had anything to say. He took advantage of this last opportunity, and stepped forward and said: "Ladies and Gentlemen, This heah is gwinter be a great lesson to me."

So the 180,000 Republican majority last November has been a great lesson to the Democrats of Kentucky, but they have not been executed as yet, as was the Negro.

A brick house sometimes has to fall on some "folks" before they can take a hint.

So, verbum sap. A word to the wise is sufficient and Chairman Hardin called a meeting of the "unterrified and undeafled" to meet and talk things over.

And they did. It was a most harmonious session, and it was a step in the right direction toward regaining lost ground in the Grand Old Commonwealth of Kentucky.

It used to be that Kentucky was so "sot" in her Democratic ways, and was so secure in that position that it brought about the saying from the late Bob Ingersoll—"Not until hell freezes over, or Kentucky goes Republican."

But since that utterance by that renowned atheistic Republican, Kentucky has gone Republican four times in state elections, and three times in National elections.

And now the Democracy of Kentucky realizes that it will have to fight for what it gets.

Factional disputes militate against party success in the state, as well as in counties and municipalities, and there can be no hope of winning out so long as such disputes and differences exist.

According to the report of the meetings held at Louisville not a discordant note was uttered. All agreed to let the "dead past bury its dead" and to face the future with that determined hopefulness which augurs well for success.

Billy Klair, a pronounced wet, sounded the keynote of the meeting when he said, "We've all made mistakes in the past, none more than I. Let's forget them and make Kentucky Democratic."

From that time on as the Courier-Journal puts it—"The ripple of harmony burst into a sweeping tide" that harmoniously enveloped the gathering.

J. M. Atherton declared that prohibition was not a party question and should never have been brought into the party.

Senator Barkley, who is so dry that his friends are afraid to light a match in his presence, said among other things:

"What happened last fall can't be helped now. We must let the Democrats of Kentucky and of the country know we are not dead, but still are fighting. All are to be congratulated on the trend this meeting has taken for unity, harmony and determination to fight a common enemy instead of one another."

Congressman Ralph Gilbert fired a hot shot at the Sampson administration when he said:

"At the same time I stand for a direct declaration by the party opposing the policy of Gov. Flem D. Sampson in endangering the health of the people of the State through the 'ripper bill,' the exploitation of the school system of the state through his political desires, and I favor a condemnation of the Governor's policy and his attitude toward conservation of the natural resources of the state, and protection of the rights of the public."

Strong resolutions drafted by Lieutenant Governor James Breathitt, Attorney General Cammack and others, were unanimously adopted. These resolutions constitute a clarion call to the Democrats of Kentucky to get together so as to steer the State back to its Democratic moorings, and to prevent the redistricting of the State by a Sampson-controlled Legislature. To that end the selection of capable candidates for Representative is very necessary. The Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act are not mentioned in the resolution, but it does say: "That we stand for the rigid and courageous enforcement of all laws, State and National."

This body of representative Democrats, having set the pace, it's up to us as the rank and file of that party in this State to fall in line and partake of that harmony which thickened and swept the Louisville meeting on last Monday afternoon.

Just as Senator Barkley said, there are the fundamental bedrock principles of Democracy upon

which we can all agree.

Why fight among ourselves?

Let us conserve our militant zeal for our friends, the enemy.

The paramount issue immediately at hand is to elect Representatives and Senators who will see to it that this State is not redistricted by a Sampson controlled Legislature.

The action of the Louisville meeting is a long step forward.

Let us acquiesce and do our level best to bring Kentucky back to the idea expressed by Ingersoll that Kentucky will never again go Republican until hell freezes over.

Political - 1929

Suffrage.

Montgomery, Ala., August 5, 1929

Letters To The Editor

Please be brief. We reserve the right to cut letters more than 300 words long.

POWELL REPLIES TO THE ADVERTISER

Editor The Advertiser:
In your editorial of July 30, you state, before I could qualify as a candidate for delegate to the Houston convention, I had to sign a formal specific pledge that I would support all Democratic nominees in the general election.

It would have been my duty to support Gov. Smith after his nomination had he not repudiated the prohibition plank and other parts of the Houston platform, regardless of whether I signed a pledge or not.

You, however, attach peculiar importance to a pledge, and charge that I signed one. I have no recollection of doing so. I demand that you prove it. Whatever paper was signed by me should be on file with Mr. Pettus or the Secretary of the State Committee. I will be glad if you will publish it.

I have a carbon copy of my declaration of candidacy. It should be on file with Mr. Pettus or the secretary. Will be glad for you to publish it.

In your editorial you refer with approval to the recent letter of Hon. Thomas J. Judge giving his views on Anti-Smith Democrats being allowed to vote in the primaries next year. In this letter to Mr. Ray, after referring to DePriest and the DePriest affair, Mr. Judge says: "If you regard these insults to the white race as of no importance, you must have shuddered when the Republican House passed the Tinkham resolution in an attempt to force Negro suffrage on the South. These Republican Congressmen were of Mr. Hoover's political faith and I feel confident expressed his racial and sectional views."

I have known Mr. Judge since his childhood. I am his warm personal friend and proud of his achievements as a lawyer in Birmingham. I do not believe he really means to be unfair.

But he has overlooked some of the facts relating to the Tinkham Amendment referred to in that part of his letter I have quoted.

It is true the amendment was offered by Tinkham, a Republican. It was adopted by a vote of 145 to 118, the majority being 27. According to newspaper reports, Southern Democrats aided by a sprinkling of Western Republicans and a few Eastern Republicans voted against the resolution, while other Republicans and most of the Tammany Hall Congressmen voted for it. (See The Advertiser and Mobile Register of June 5). My recollection is there are about twenty Tammany members of Congress. Had they voted with Southern Democrats, the resolution would have been defeated. On the day following this vote, Representative Tilson, the Republican leader, from Connecticut, offered an amendment striking out the Tinkham resolution. It was adopted by an overwhelming majority.

I hold no brief for Mr. Hoover or the Re-

publican party. But as Mr. Judge well knows, the lower house of Congress is Republican by a large majority. Had the Republicans been solidly in favor of the Tinkham resolution, they could easily have passed it. Yet after the resolution had been passed with the help of Tammany Democrats, the Republicans headed by their floor leader, Tilson, came to the aid of Southern Democrats and with their help the measure was defeated. In the face of these facts Mr. Judge charges that the first vote on the Tinkham amendment when it was passed with Tammany's help, expressed Mr. Hoover's racial and sectional views. But if Mr. Judge is correct, then without doubt, Tammany's vote in favor of the resolution also expressed their racial and sectional views.

If, as Mr. Judge charges, the vote of the Republicans upon this resolution was an attempt to force Negro suffrage upon the South, then the Tammany Congressmen who voted for it are equally guilty. In voting for the resolution Tammany took their stand with the Negro Congressman DePriest and against the white people of the South. It occurs to me that this conduct on the part of Tammany should make all of us shudder.

Knowing Mr. Judge as I do, I am sure that deep down in his heart he condemns Tammany just as much, if not more than he does the Republicans. He could expect nothing better of them, but as the vaunted friend of the South he had the right to expect better of Tammany.

Tammany dictated Gov. Smith's nomination. Today it is in control of the machinery of the National Democratic party, which has a Republican for its chairman. The movement to deny anti-Smith Democrats the unrestricted right to vote in the primaries next year is fostered chiefly by those who have stood with Tammany and the liquor forces. One of their grievances is anti-Smith Democrat's fight against Tammany and their determination to continue this fight until Tammany's strangle hold on the national party is broken and a Democrat is made chairman instead of the Republican Raskob.

In the face of the stand Tammany has taken with the Negro Congressman DePriest and radical Republicans like Tinkham to cut down Southern representation in Congress or force Negro suffrage upon us, it would be suicidal for the Executive Committee to adopt any measure that would divide the Democrats of Alabama into two warring factions. I feel sure that an overwhelming majority of those Democrats who voted for and those who voted against Gov. Smith agree with me.

It is evident from what occurred in the fight over the Tinkham resolution that if the fight to reduce Southern representation in Congress and force Negro suffrage upon us is continued it will be made by extremists of the Republican party and by Tammany. It further appears that the Conservative Republicans have no desire to wage such a fight.

I am glad to note that level-headed men like Hon. Hugh Mallory and Judge Tayloe see the danger ahead and that they do not favor excluding anti-Smith Democrats from the primaries next year.

I commend the splendid letter of Judge Tayloe on this question recently published in The Advertiser.

DEMPSEY M. POWELL.
Greenville, Ala., Aug. 3, 1929.

Alabama

REGISTRARS WILL RESUME SITTINGS

Would-Be Voters Have Chance To Qualify For Suffrage

After a short intermission the Montgomery County Board of Registrars will resume activity on Monday, Nov. 4, sitting at the courthouse. Between Oct. 10 and 12 the board visited precincts outside of Montgomery County when only a few persons took advantage of the opportunity to qualify as voters in future elections.

When the board convenes Monday it will remain in session throughout the month except Sundays and holidays. All persons who have become 21 years of age since the last registration date or those who have moved into the county since that date and who have been in the county the required length of time before the next election may apply for registration.

Under the Alabama Constitution of 1901 a person must reside in the state at least two years before becoming eligible to vote. The time of residence in the county is one year and the precinct six months.

In addition to the time required to acquire the right to vote, all persons who wish to vote must also pay all poll tax due the state since 1901 or after reaching the age of 21. In computing this poll tax the person reaching the age of 21 on or after Oct. 1 is not subject to the tax for that year, but if he reaches the age of 45 after Oct. 1 he must pay for the current year.

Poll taxes can not be paid except between Oct. 1 and Feb. 1 inclusive. Failure to pay such tax before the books close on the night of Feb. 1 disqualifies such voter from participating in any election until after the first of the following February.

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CONTEST IS CARRIED TO COURT

The Rev. Walter Gilbert, Episcopal minister of Little Rock, is announced in the handbill as the principal speaker for the mass meeting. The Mosaic Temple sextette is on the program for a vocal number and a band will furnish other music. The program also provides for three-minute addresses.

Arkansas.

Arkansas Citizens to Appeal Primary Decision De- barring Negroes From Voting In Democratic Elections.

Course

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Sept. 19.—A mass meeting to make plans for carrying to higher courts a ruling of Chancellor Frank H. Dodge August 29, dissolving a temporary injunction issued by Judge Richard M. Mann, and thereby, in effect, debarring Negroes from voting in Democratic primaries in Arkansas, was held Monday at the Mosaic Temple, Ninth street and Broadway.

In a circular issued yesterday, signed by eight leaders of the moving Negroes from voting in Democratic primaries, it was said that three firms of lawyers have been employed to fight the chancellor's decision through the higher courts and through the United States Supreme Court, if necessary. The law firms named were those of Scipio A. Jones, Booker and Booker and John A. Hibbler.

This same circular made a request for contributions for a fund to be used in fighting the case, and set forth arguments for the contention that Negroes should be permitted to join the Democratic party and vote in primary elections.

A handbill announcing the mass meeting called for tomorrow declares: "Unless the Colored citizens of the state rise up and exert their rights as American citizens, their rights as citizens will forever be taken away from them. The question arises: What are we going to do about it? The answer is: Be present at the Mosaic Temple at 3 Sunday afternoon and it will be told to you what to do."

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Arkansas.

Suffrage.

NEW YORK EVE POST

AUG 30 1929

~~NEGROES~~ LOSE VOTE FIGHT

Arkansas Chancellor Rules Democratic Primaries for Whites Only

Little Rock, Ark., Aug. 30 (AP).—The Democratic Party of Arkansas violates no constitutional or statutory provision of State or nation in barring negroes from primary elections, Chancellor Dodge ruled here in dismissing, for want of equity, the suit filed in Pulaski Chancery Court last November by negroes who sought the privilege of voting in the Democratic primary.

Negroes are excluded from Democratic primaries by the rule that the Democratic Party of Arkansas shall consist of eligible and legally qualified white electors only.

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California

Suffrage Register and Vote

A election was recently held in Pasadena in which the Negroes of that city lost a splendid opportunity of electing a member of their own race to the City Board of Directors. As we pointed out, in dealing with this question two weeks ago, this loss was largely due to the failure of a large number to register and to the failure of those who registered to go to the polls and vote.

Los Angeles is soon to have a general city election. There is a large number of Negro citizens in this city who are not yet registered. Registration is a condition which the law requires before a citizen who is qualified to exercise the ballot can vote. This condition is, for many reasons, desirable. Every qualified Negro should, therefore, see to it that he is at once registered; and on May the 7th he should go to the polls and cast his ballot. The only excuse for failure to do this thing is illness which confines us to bed.

Negroes in certain sections of the country are nothing but political non-entities because of enforced disfranchisement and the superiority of white lawlessness. Against this kind of thing we continually fight and protest. This is but natural and logical. But if, while fighting and protesting against the denial of the franchise to members of our race in other sections we, in this section where it is freely given, neglect to exercise it, we make our fights and protests a solemn mockery and a joke.

Colored Voters Hold Balance

Of Power In Los Angeles
Los Angeles, Cal. — ANP — Judging from the hot fight being put up among Negro voters for the final elections in May for mayor, the 25,000 black votes must be recognized as the powerful minority and balance of power.

Porter and Bonelli are the two candidates, both with a large following of black votes. Porter's campaign is, however, hurt by alleged affiliations with the Ku Klux Klan. At the bottom was some white powder which had not dissolved. This was brought back to town and sent to Raleigh to have the liquid analyzed.

Big Crowd At Hearing

Matilda and Nathan were scheduled to have a preliminary hearing Tuesday morning before Judge Blount for the purpose of ascertaining whether enough evidence had been found to warrant their being held over for superior court in connection with the murder of Frances Hartfield. Deputy

Sheriff Harris, who has been doing some effective work in the case, said Monday evening that he had enough witnesses to put on the stand to clearly show connection with the murder on the part of Matilda and Nathan.

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D.C.

Suffrage

N. Y. EVE. WORLD

JUN 7 1929

WASHINGTON

DAY BY DAY

By Robert Barry

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Hoover Has Definitely Decided to Swing Around the Circle in the South, Following Great River Courses en Route

WASHINGTON, June 7.

The President has definitely arranged to make an extended tour of the South in the early autumn, if the conditions of affairs on Capitol Hill will permit.

As now considered, the President would undertake a jaunt of not less than two weeks, one beginning at the head of the Ohio River and ending at the mouth of the Mississippi. No such inspection of the inland waterways canalization ever has been undertaken by a President since Congress began pouring millions into the projects.

Moreover, Mr. Hoover would revisit the Mississippi flood areas, where his work in 1927 is regarded by his friends as having done more to thrust him into the national political picture than any other single instance. His flood relief undertaking revived and dramatized his war relief achievements.

Through Speaker Longworth, the President has been asked to inspect the canalization of the Ohio River. Some sort of special celebration has been planned for this year with the river towns from Pittsburgh to Cairo participating. It is not a remote possibility that to centre national interest on inland waterways development, the President might make the entire trip by boat. He has urged the water traffic idea quite actively.

He would make landings at the larger cities, like Cincinnati, Louisville, Memphis and Vicksburg. The promise already has been made that at New Orleans the President would have a reception exceeding that accorded Col. Theodore Roosevelt some years ago, and that was some reception.

There would be difficulty in arranging accommodations for the retinue of a President on the river boats. A flotilla might be necessary, yet the projectors of the proposed Hoover excursion contend there need not be any worry over adequate provision for as large an entourage as would go along.

Mr. Hoover is said to be quite keen to inspect the levee work which has

been done in the two years since he gazed on what he described as our greatest peace-time disaster and where his personality and prestige induced another flood—one of relief through the American Red Cross.

TINKHAM A HUNTER

Representative George Holden Tinkham of Massachusetts, who stirred up all the trouble on Capitol Hill with a plan to deny Southern States representation in Congress for Negro residents who are denied the right to vote, is a big game hunter.

His apartment living room is filled with animal skins. They are two and three deep on the floor. Not to stumble over heads is to tread more deftly than on any waxed hardwood floor ever devised. The walls are jammed with heads. There are massive photograph albums containing a camera record of adventures in Africa, New Zealand and elsewhere.

The current comment on Capitol Hill is to the effect that on this hunting trip George Tinkham stirred up a mess of snakes. That he did so ought to occasion little surprise. He has been gunning for the South for several years.

Tinkham has been the outstanding foe of what has come hereabouts to be called the "wet-drinking, dry-voting South." Every Prohibition bill offered in Congress is sure to draw an amendment by the gentleman from Massachusetts providing that there shall be enforcement also of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

He has sponsored numerous proposals to give the Negro the right of

suffrage in the South. He would favor a Force Bill. He was keen for the Dyer-Anti-Lynching bill. He has been almost ruthless in his expose of Southern members who vote one way and drink another.

MOSES QUOTED VOTES

When Senator George H. Moses of New Hampshire, became Chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Printing, several years ago, he established a system which shows quite clearly how materially the South might be affected were reapportionment of House seats to be based on the actual voting population instead of on mere census statistics. He ordered those election figures carried in every issue of the Congressional Directory.

Although the nature of the Presidential contest of 1928 brought out an unprecedented poll in the South, those figures are quoted here rather than those of the off-year elections of 1926.

In Alabama there was only one Congressional district where the combined Democratic and Republican vote exceeded 26,000, and in only six of the State's ten Congressional districts was the combined vote above 20,000. Representative William B. Oliver was re-elected, although the total vote cast in his district was 9,539.

In Georgia every Democrat was elected without Republican opposition, and the highest vote polled by any one of the twelve Congressional candidates was that of Malcolm C. Carver, whose total was 23,251, in a district having a population in 1920 of 236,027.

Six of the eight Democrats elected to Congress from Louisiana in 1928 polled less than 20,000 each. The highest vote among the eight men chosen in Mississippi was 18,206. The aggregate of the vote cast in the eight Congressional districts of Mississippi was 112,550. Those who think as does Mr. Tinkham point out that in the official census of 1920 Mississippi was shown to have a population of 1,790,618, of whom 935,184 were Negroes. Only 8,019 foreign-born white persons resided in the State.

Those figures reveal better than partisan or sectional argument why the Southern Senators and Congressmen have been voting to exclude alien residents of the big cities of the North and East from consideration when House reapportionment is to be decided and are pawing the air over Tinkham's proposal to exclude residents who are denied rights of suffrage.

It is a nasty sectional fight which never should have occurred except for the insistence by the Klan on striking a blow at the cities having large alien populations. The Constitution specifies "population" and not "citizenship" as a basis of Congressional apportionment. It is invidious to make these comparisons. The matter is at issue in Congress. It threw the House in something of a turmoil.

NOTES COMPARED

Before passing to those Congressional districts at which the Southern and Mid-Western members sought to hit in the exclusion of unnaturalized aliens,

the record, to which the wily George Moses has given publication, on South Carolina's total vote in the Congressional campaigns of 1926 and 1928 may be interesting:

| Districts | 1926 | 1928 | Population 1920 |
|---------------|-------|--------|-----------------|
| First | 2,244 | 8,469 | 215,242 |
| Second | 1,706 | 7,648 | 203,418 |
| Third | 2,372 | 10,917 | 249,721 |
| Fourth | 2,057 | 8,873 | 255,895 |
| Fifth | 2,416 | 8,911 | 228,649 |
| Sixth | 1,532 | 7,737 | 264,043 |
| Seventh | 1,983 | 8,772 | 266,956 |

That is the strongest argument Tinkham finds in support of his reprisal measure against the South. In the figures which follow it must be kept in mind only qualified citizens are reckoned. Unnaturalized aliens do not vote.

In the 1928 elections, the lowest vote cast for all parties in any California Congressional election was 32,464; in five of the eleven districts the vote exceeded 100,000 and in one district it was 288,698 and in another 321,886.

In Connecticut, the lowest aggregate in the five districts was 82,686, three of the five districts having polled in excess of 110,000. Illinois, with twenty-seven Congressmen, had only two districts to poll less than 50,000 and had ten districts, besides two members-at-large, polling in excess of 100,000.

The lowest aggregate in any Massachusetts district was 50,092. Ninety thousand votes were polled in Tinkham's own district, of which he received 52,000. Michigan has one district in which the total poll was 328,441, Detroit topping Los Angeles in lack of proper representation in Congress by a margin of 7,000 or slightly less.

Although it would seem a mistake to make this fight over reapportionment seem a fight between New York and the South for it is nothing of the sort, the figures do show that in thirty-one of the forty-five Congressional districts in New York State every one polled a bigger vote than was cast in the whole State of Carolina in Congressional contests. Twenty-five of the New York districts polled 100,000 or more; three had in excess of 200,000 ballots per district.

Political-1929

Suffrage

NEGRO IN FLORIDA SEEKS DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY BALLOT

Tallahassee, Fla., October 12.—(P) An appeal to the Florida supreme court to decide whether negroes of the state have the right to participate in democratic primaries has been taken under advisement. It was announced today.

The court has just heard oral arguments in the case of H. D. Goode, whose suit for \$5,000 alleged damages against Thomas A. Johnson and Paul F. Riera, election officials in a municipal primary held at Pensacola, was thrown out in the circuit court for Escambia county.

Counsel for Goode, a negro, assert that the complainant was duly registered for the Pensacola primary, but that his right to vote was denied by the election officials, who, it was stated, acted upon a rule adopted by party officials. Goode's attorneys allege that denial of the right of ballot violated the federal constitution and all state statutes.

Attorneys for the defendants pointed out that the primary in which Goode was refused the right of ballot was not an election in the sense of the constitution, but a primary in which representation for the election to follow was chosen.

The case is similar to those in which the federal court of Texas held that the democratic party had the power to deny the vote to negroes and the federal court of Virginia decided that no such power was vested in the party. Both of those cases have been appealed to the United States circuit court of appeals.

DAVIS DECLINES TO MAKE RULING ON NEGRO VOTING

Tallahassee, Fla., September 17.—(P)—Attorney-General Fred H. Davis today declined to permit the use of his office to test the right of the "white party" of Tampa to hold a primary election for nomination of city officers.

The request was made by Eppes Tucker, Tampa. Mr. Davis, in a letter to Tucker, explained that his determination was on the ground that the supreme court had held that the attorney-general had no legal interests sufficient to entitle him to proceed by quo warranto in a "purely party matter," and because, in his opinion, there was no legal or constitutional objection to the "white party" of Tampa organizing and holding a primary election for its desired.

The supreme court of the United States has held that a person could not be debarred from participating in

a democratic primary merely because he was a negro, provided he was also a democrat. Mr. Davis explained that it has never been held that a party could not be formed to be known as the white party or the black party or the red party or the yellow party which could hold a primary and confine membership in the party to persons of the white race, black race and so forth, only.

Tampa, Fla., Tribune
Sunday, July 21, 1929

A Negro Representative?

Taking into account the zeal that is being manifested in the registration of negroes in certain districts, we are confronted with the consideration that, under the present system of district representation, with the present charter remaining in effect, it is entirely possible for Tampa to have a negro member, maybe more than one, of its Board of Representatives.

This is the first time in years that there has been any perceptible or organized qualification of negroes in municipal elections.

With a considerable negro vote in any one district, and with the white vote of that district divided among several white candidates, it may be readily seen that it would not be a very difficult matter for the negroes to unite and elect their man.

With the election of Representatives limited to the vote of the districts, the possibility of the election of an undesirable Representative—even a negro Representative—has existed since the present charter was adopted. The possibility becomes more pronounced now that politicians supporting the present charter are busily qualifying negroes in certain districts where they are numerous.

Of course the election of a negro Representative would be impossible under the proposed charter, because no negro could be elected with all the voters of the city participating in the election of all the Representatives. It is possible under the present system—the ward system.

Tampa, Fla., Tribune
Friday, July 19, 1929

NEGRO MACHINE CONTINUES ITS ELECTION WORK

Runs In Scores at Registration Booths

Tampa's negro political machine, which ran 94 negroes into two precinct registration places Tuesday, was back on the job Wednesday, but did only about half as well, a check yesterday showed.

The big movement Wednesday was in precinct No. 9, 1605 Morgan street, at which 21 negroes were registered, and no whites. Precinct No. 2, Zack and Jefferson streets, reported almost as one-sided a registration record, with 20 negroes placed on the roll for the day. Seven whites, however, were registered there. The precincts reported negligible previous negro registrations.

Precinct No. 26, which piled up a negro registration of 54 Tuesday, the record so far, reported only five negroes registered Wednesday, compared with 11 whites. This precinct is in the heart of West Tampa. No. 12, at the Diaz Electrage, 1010 Seventh avenue, reported four negro registrations, and no whites.

Movement Began This Week

Up until this week not more than a scattered few negroes registered for the charter election, just one here and there through the weeks since the books were opened, not more than 25 in all, and most of them were the better class of negroes.

But reports of an organized effort to get out the negro vote reached the ears of election officials Monday, and Tuesday the wave struck the two precincts mentioned. The negroes were taken to the polls in automobiles, which repeated their trips all during the day.

The switch from precinct to precinct indicates that the organization to get out the negro vote has formed itself into a sort of flying squadron sweeping through precinct after precinct, and each precinct they entered showed a large majority of negro registrations for the day.

Florida "White Primary" Case to be Argued Oct. 11

New York, Oct. 1.—Argument of the Florida "White Primary" case arising out of denial of vote to a Negro, will be heard in the Florida State Supreme Court on Oct. 11, according to report to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People by F. W. Marsh, attorney in charge of the case.

Suit is being brought by a colored citizen, H. D. Goode, for \$5,000 damages against election clerks who denied him a vote in the primary election last April. This action will test the attempt to evade the U. S. Supreme Court's decision in the Texas "White Primary" case, where it was held states could not exclude Negroes from voting in party primaries.

In Florida, as in other states, it was sought to vest the power of prescribing voters' qualifications in State Party Committees.

The National office of the N.A.A.C.P. is helping the Pensacola branch to finance this case and has contributed \$100 to date.

Supra

Pixie Counts

All 'Heads;'

Bars Voters

Washington, Nov. 16—The selection of president, members of congress and presidential electors throughout the United States last Tuesday by voters disclosed the unfair representation of the states in congress and the electoral college.

Election returns showed that states have 66 more and 24 states have 66 fewer votes in congress and in the electoral college than there would be if representation was based on the number of qualified voters instead of the population of the states as computed by census takers.

The successful Republican candidate for the presidency, Herbert Hoover, last Tuesday would have received 479 instead of 444, and the Democratic candidate, Alfred Smith, 52 instead of 87 electoral votes if the representation has been computed on ballots cast. It has been pointed out that if this misrepresentation is allowed to continue there is the possibility in a close election that the inequalities might easily result in the defeat of the candidate receiving the most popular votes.

Representation in the national house of representatives is based by the Constitution on population. By the last apportionment there is one representative for each 211,877 persons in the country under the census of 1910. Congress has failed to reapportion on the basis of the 1920 census.

The electoral college of each state consists of as many electors as it has senators and representatives. In the 48 state electoral colleges there are a total of 531 electors.

Eleven of the 13 states having more congressmen and presidential electors than they would be entitled to on the basis of the popular vote are southern states. Their representation is based on population, but a large proportion of the population in the southern states is disfranchised by laws to eliminate the voice of certain citizens in government. The result therefore is a representation disproportionate to the qualified electorate.

Here Are States Affected

If representation in congress and the electoral colleges were based on the popular vote Texas would lose 10 congressmen and 10 electors; Georgia, 9; Alabama, 7; Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia, 6 each; Arkansas and Louisiana, 5 each; North Carolina, 3, and Connecticut, Florida and Ohio, 1 each.

Conversely, California would gain 11; Illinois, 10; New York, 9; New Jersey, 7; Indiana, 4; Massachusetts and Michigan, 3 each; Missouri and West Virginia, 2 each, and Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Utah, Washington and Wisconsin, 1 each.

All of this means that a vote in one part of the country, particularly the South, counts for more in electing congress and the president than does a vote in another part, particularly the North. The vote of one resident of South Carolina, for example, counts as much as the vote of 181 Chicagoans. It takes 99 Chicago voters to do what one Mississippian does at the ballot box. If Illinois had one representative for every 18,832 voters, as Georgia has, Illinois would have 160 instead of only 27 congressmen.

Table of Inequalities

The disparity among the states in electing congressmen and presidential electors is graphically set forth in the following table of the total (unofficial) popular vote in each state last week, and the number of votes per representative in congress:

| | Total Vote | Votes per Rep. |
|----------------|------------|----------------|
| Alabama | 240,987 | 24,098 |
| Arizona | 89,745 | 8,974 |
| Arkansas | 153,713 | 21,959 |
| California | 1,763,374 | 160,306 |
| Colorado | 372,464 | 93,116 |
| Connecticut | 321,177 | 64,235 |
| Delaware | 104,383 | 104,383 |
| Florida | 233,129 | 58,282 |
| Georgia | 226,587 | 18,882 |
| Idaho | 137,289 | 68,644 |
| Illinois | 3,037,136 | 112,486 |
| Indiana | 1,406,943 | 108,226 |
| Iowa | 957,896 | 87,081 |
| Kansas | 666,570 | 83,321 |
| Kentucky | 921,222 | 83,747 |
| Louisiana | 193,285 | 24,100 |
| Maine | 236,862 | 64,215 |
| Maryland | 521,603 | 86,933 |
| Massachusetts | 1,565,358 | 97,834 |
| Michigan | 1,301,536 | 100,118 |
| Minnesota | 859,688 | 85,968 |
| Mississippi | 114,894 | 14,361 |
| Missouri | 1,472,166 | 92,007 |
| Montana | 188,091 | 94,045 |
| Nebraska | 524,725 | 87,454 |
| Nevada | 31,858 | 31,858 |
| New Hampshire | 183,183 | 91,561 |
| New Jersey | 1,541,021 | 128,418 |
| New Mexico | 107,667 | 107,667 |
| New York | 4,256,569 | 98,989 |
| North Carolina | 594,911 | 59,491 |
| North Dakota | 266,080 | 75,360 |
| Ohio | 2,458,912 | 111,768 |
| Oklahoma | 610,586 | 76,323 |
| Oregon | 308,137 | 102,712 |
| Pennsylvania | 3,008,635 | 83,573 |
| Rhode Island | 236,408 | 78,802 |
| South Carolina | 54,657 | 7,808 |

| | | |
|---------------|---------|---------|
| South Dakota | 234,038 | 78,012 |
| Tennessee | 328,995 | 32,899 |
| Texas | 633,248 | 37,958 |
| Utah | 173,070 | 86,535 |
| Vermont | 134,134 | 67,067 |
| Virginia | 303,807 | 30,380 |
| Washington | 460,360 | 92,072 |
| West Virginia | 613,907 | 102,317 |
| Wisconsin | 978,408 | 88,946 |
| Wyoming | 80,303 | 80,303 |

The number of congressmen—members of the lower house—apportioned now on the population basis to each state and the number that would be apportioned to it on the basis of the popular vote cast in the election last week are shown in the following table:

| | Pop. bas. | Vote bas. |
|----------------|-----------|-----------|
| Alabama | 10 | 3 |
| Arizona | 1 | 1 |
| Arkansas | 7 | 2 |
| California | 11 | 22 |
| Colorado | 4 | 5 |
| Connecticut | 5 | 4 |
| Delaware | 1 | 1 |
| Florida | 4 | 3 |
| Georgia | 12 | 3 |
| Idaho | 2 | 2 |
| Illinois | 27 | 37 |
| Indiana | 11 | 17 |
| Iowa | 11 | 12 |
| Kansas | 8 | 9 |
| Kentucky | 11 | 12 |
| Louisiana | 8 | 3 |
| Maine | 4 | 4 |
| Maryland | 6 | 7 |
| Massachusetts | 16 | 19 |
| Michigan | 13 | 16 |
| Minnesota | 10 | 11 |
| Mississippi | 2 | 2 |
| Missouri | 16 | 18 |
| Montana | 2 | 3 |
| Nebraska | 6 | 7 |
| Nevada | 1 | 1 |
| New Hampshire | 2 | 3 |
| New Jersey | 12 | 19 |
| New Mexico | 1 | 2 |
| New York | 43 | 52 |
| North Carolina | 10 | 7 |
| North Dakota | 3 | 3 |
| Ohio | 22 | 24 |
| Oklahoma | 8 | 8 |
| Oregon | 3 | 4 |
| Pennsylvania | 36 | 37 |
| Rhode Island | 3 | 3 |
| South Carolina | 7 | 1 |
| South Dakota | 3 | 3 |
| Tennessee | 10 | 4 |
| Texas | 18 | 8 |
| Utah | 2 | 3 |
| Vermont | 2 | 2 |
| Virginia | 10 | 4 |
| Washington | 6 | 6 |
| West Virginia | 6 | 8 |
| Wisconsin | 11 | 12 |
| Wyoming | 1 | 1 |
| Totals | 433 | 438 |

Political-1929

Supp

\$200,000 BACK OF THE 15TH AMENDMENT

(From The Cleveland Press)

One of the most persistently recurring questions in the annals of the Supreme Court has concerned the rights and privileges of the Southern Negro in respect to voting.

For 60 years the white politicians in the South have racked their brains to discover means of circumventing the 15th Amendment. The result has been a long succession of trick laws which aimed, without quite saying so, to disfranchise the colored people.

In the course of time most of these laws have found their way to the Supreme Court and the Supreme Court has declared them unconstitutional. But the struggle between political wits and legal rights still goes on, and patience, skill and money is still needed to defend the Negro's voting right.

The 15th Amendment declared that no State, in writing its election laws, could deny the ballot to anyone because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

One of the standard devices with which the southern states, in the early days after war, responded to this Amendment was the "grandfather clause." Such a law generally declared the right to vote belonged to any one who was a citizen in 1866 (before Negroes were made citizens) or to his or her grandson.

It said nothing about race or color, but it was clearly designed to discriminate against the Negro. The Supreme Court said so, and such laws passed out of existence.

A variety of other attempts to take the ballot away from the Negro by means of trick legislation met a similar fate.

Two recent cases are of particular interest. The 1923 Texas primary law made the Negro ineligible to vote in a Democratic primary. It was based on the assumption that a party primary was not an election within the meaning of the Constitution.

In March, 1927, the Supreme Court held otherwise, and the Constitution scored again.

The latest case, of Virginia, was decided in an opinion handed down three weeks ago. The Virginia primary law gave the parties the right to determine their own rules, and the parties then attempted to limit the franchise to whites.

Again the court held that the primary was an election, and that the 15th Amendment was being broken.

So the fight goes. The Constitution slowly gains ground, but only as the result of constant vigilance on the part of the colored people, and a readiness to meet every attempted discrimination with a new challenge in the courts.

Out in the forefront of program against Negro disfranchisement is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which is holding its Convention in Cleveland this week.

Its campaign for \$200,000, funds which will be used to battle southern laws and practices which defeat the word and the intention of the 15th Amendment, is a very proper answer to efforts of southern whites to control elections.

JOURNAL The south insists Negroes shall be excluded from voting, but included in the count for reapportionment. Thus good for one but not the other.

JUN 28 1929

General

Republicans Renew Efforts To Increase Heavy Negro Voting

Damage Has Been Done; May Mean Loss Of G. O. P. Penetration Of Solid South; All Is Not Harmony Within Ranks; Groner Holds Virginia Primary Law Is Unconstitutional

By RUSSELL KENT
Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 5.—Before it has been in power more than three months, the Hoover administration is faced with the loss of the Republican penetration of the once politically Solid South which it achieved last November through an unusual combination of circumstances.

Adoption by the House in committee of the whole Tuesday of an amendment designed to strike at the election laws of Southern states and compel universal voting of negroes of legal age has caused a stir among Southern members of Congress such as has not occurred since the memorial days 20 odd years ago when the Lodge force bill was fought so bitterly in Congress.

The specter which many of the regular Democratic orators held before the voters during the presidential campaign last Fall that Republican victory would mean a renewal of efforts to bring about heavy negro voting in the South has come to life much sooner than any of these orators expected. The result unquestionably will be a return to the political solidarity of the Southern states, no matter what ultimately becomes of this present amendment to the pending bill.

Damage Has Been Done

Ultimately, that amendment must come out of the bill, or the measure will be defeated. But the damage has been done, so far as the Republican party is concerned.

Conferences were held all day by Republican leaders of the House. The House met for only about five minutes Wednesday.

When the shades of evening fell, these leaders admitted they faced a crisis in getting the census and reapportionment bill through. Before adopting the amendment to force voting of negroes, which provides that the representation in the House of Congress and in the electoral

college of those states where persons over 21 years of age are not privileged to vote freely will be reduced proportionately, the House in committee of the whole adopted by 183 to 123 an amendment to exclude aliens from the count for apportionment of seats in the House. This would reduce the membership of such states as Massachusetts and New York in the House and in the presidential electoral college. That amendment angered the men from the East.

Amendment Finally Adopted

Previously, the House had rejected 94 to 103 an amendment by Rep. Tinkham, Republican of Massachusetts, to force voting of negroes. After adoption of the alien amendment, Tinkham again offered his amendment to another section of the bill and it was adopted 145 to 118. Tinkham has introduced bills in each session of Congress for a number of years to enforce the 14th and 15th amendments and recently had correspondence on the subject with President Hoover and Atty. Gen. Mitchell.

House leaders will ask a separate vote on each of these amendments when the bill is reported to the House proper from the committee of the whole, Rep. Tilson, of Connecticut, Republican floor leader, admitted Wednesday evening that either the alien or negro amendment is forbidden any but white persons from retained in the bill the measure probably would fail of passage on the final vote. The bill without some Democratic support cannot pass and this support has been expected from states which would gain representation in the House and the electoral college through reapportionment but cannot be had if either amendment remains, as the East would be angered if the alien amendment is retained and the South if the Tinkham amendment is retained.

It must be said also that all is no harmony within Democratic ranks, a Southern members generally favor exclusion of aliens in apportioning representation and if they persist in this attitude some of the Eastern Democrats are likely to support the negro franchise amendment.

But the main factor of the willingness of the Republicans to threaten the South

whose election laws have successfully withstood the test of the United States Supreme Court, remains outstanding. Whatever the fate of either or both amendments, or of the bill itself, the fact that in committee of the whole the House should have voted the Tinkham proposal into any bill will remain in the minds of Southern voters many years in full justification of all that Democratic orators have been warning them.

RICHMOND, VA., June 5.—(P)—The Virginia primary law, which has had the effect of barring negroes from the Democratic primary by giving political parties the right to make their own rules, was declared unconstitutional in United States District Court here today.

Judge Lawrence D. Groner in his opinion holding the law violated the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, said that the state could not by delegation or otherwise give vitality to a claimed right which it is prohibited by the Constitution from enacting into law.

Cites Texas Case

He cited the case in which a Texas primary law excluding negroes was held unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court, stating that the Texas law differed from that in Virginia but had the same result. The Virginia law does not specifically bar negroes as did the Texas law, but subsequent action of the Democratic party under the authority of the law, kept negroes from participating in the primary.

The case originated with the filing of a claim for \$5,000 damages against city election officials by James O. West, negro Democrat, because he was refused permission to vote in the last Democratic primary. The defendants, represented by counsel headed by Leon M. Bazile, assistant attorney general, filed a demurrer. Judge Groner today overruled this demurrer and continued the case to give counsel for the defendants sixty days in which to plead further.

Judge Groner said the declaration alleged and the demurrer admitted that West was refused permission to vote because of a resolution adopted by the Democratic state convention in 1924, forbidding any but white persons from participating in the Democratic primary. The defendants claimed that this was the act of an individual or group of individuals acting as such, and therefore not within the purview of the Federal Constitution. Election officials, it was claimed, were acting for the party.

No Authority To Fix Standards

Counsel for the defendants further argued in effect, Judge Groner said, that the Legislature has no authority to fix standards or qualifications for membership in political parties, and that there is no legal bar to the formation of a political party based wholly on color, sex, religion or other standard which the party may choose to adopt. Because of this, it was argued, there is no delegation of power but only recognition of power where it has always resided.

Judge Groner said the parties were doubtless at liberty to decide whether they should nominate by primary, and

that they might nominate by primary under their own rules and at their own expense.

"But, if because of the greater safeguards which the law throws around a legalized primary," he said, "or because in such case the expense is borne by the state, a party elects to adopt this method of naming its candidates for public office, it may do so and still preserve the absolute right to determine who shall participate, is a much more delicate question."

The White Primaries

AN OPEN LETTER TO NEGRO CITIZENS
By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

To The Editor:

Dear Sir:

May I beg some of your space to call attention of your readers to the tremendous significance of the present fight being made to exclude Negro citizens from the so-called "white primary" in certain Southern states?

Not long ago the United States Supreme Court handed down a decision in which it was held that Negroes could not be excluded from voting in party primaries. This was in the famous Texas Primary case so ably handled by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

This decision was epochal. It put the unreconstructed political oligarchy of the South in a hole. There was no longer any legal pretence for keeping Negroes out of the sacred white man's primary which in the South has been heretofore more important than the general election.

For some time the unreconstructed South was in a quandary. Lately it has hit upon the plan of leaving the decision of who shall be allowed to vote in the primaries to state party committees. The members of these committees are the very whites who have been trying all along to keep the Negro politically helpless. If permitted to, they will bar the Negro just as effectually as they did before the Supreme Court of the United States handed down its decision.

Florida and Texas are taking the lead in this nefarious scheme to circumvent the law. One H. D. Goode, a Negro citizen of Florida recently brought suit for \$5000 damages against election clerks who denied him the right to vote in the primaries last April. The case is now being argued before the Florida Supreme Court. If that body renders an adverse decision, the case will have to be carried to the United States supreme court.

This fight is not merely the fight of Mr. Goode or the Pensacola branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which is financing it nor of the national office of the N. A. A. C. P., which is rendering financial assistance. It is, to the contrary, the fight of all Negro America. If the case is lost, it will be due to lack of money to push it and the guilt will be shared by every Negro.

The significant economic changes taking place in Dixie where nine million Negroes reside, are bound to have social and political reflections. In the last election four Southern states went Republican. This presages the downfall of the one-party system and the rise of the two-party system. Negroes will have a better chance to regain the franchise in the next ten

years in the South than at any time since Reconstruction. But they will not be able to win out without a stiff fight.

The fighting will take place in the courts. Legal cases are decided largely on the strength of previous decisions. If these precedents are favorable to us our path to political emancipation will be smoothed; if not, our political future will be as our political past has been in Dixie.

Before it is too late, I call upon Negroes everywhere to go down in their pockets and help the N. A. A. C. P. stem the tide of reaction.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

The "White Primary"

A Menace to Negroes

Editor of The New York Age:

May I beg some of your space to call the attention of your readers to the tremendous significance of the present fight being made to exclude Negro citizens from the so-called "white primary" in certain Southern states?

Not so long ago the United States Supreme Court handed down a decision in which it was held that Negroes could not be excluded from voting in party primaries. This was in the famous Texas Primary Case so ably handled by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

This decision was epochal. It put the unreconstructed political oligarchy of the South in a hole. There was no longer any legal pretence for keeping Negroes out of the sacred white man's primary which in the South has been heretofore more important than the general election.

For some time the unreconstructed South was in a quandary. Lately it has hit upon the plan of leaving the decision of who shall be allowed to vote in the primaries to state party committees. The members of these committees are the very whites who have been trying all along to keep the Negro politically helpless. If permitted to, they will bar the Negro just as effectually as they did before the Supreme Court of the United States handed down its decision.

This fight is not merely the fight of Mr. Goode or the Pensacola branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which is financing it nor of the national office of the N. A. A. C. P., which is rendering financial assistance. It is, to the contrary, the fight of all Negro America. If the case is lost, it will be due to lack of money to push it and the guilt will be shared by every Negro.

The significant economic changes taking place in Dixie where nine million Negroes reside, are bound to have social and political reflections. In the last election four Southern states went Republican. This presages the downfall of the one-party system and the rise of the two-party system. Negroes will have a better chance to regain the franchise in the next ten

years in the South than at any time since Reconstruction. But they will not be able to win out without a stiff fight.

The fighting will take place in the courts. Legal cases are decided largely on the strength of previous decisions. If these precedents are favorable to us our path to political emancipation will be smoothed; if not, our political future will be as our political past has been in Dixie.

Before it is too late, I call upon Negroes everywhere to go down in their pockets and help the N. A. A. C. P. stem the tide of reaction.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

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GEORGE S. SCHUYLER,
New York City.

Political - 1929

Suffrage
RECORD

Sacco, Ed.

JUL 4 1929

THE DE PRIEST INCIDENT

The recent entertainment at the White House by Mrs. Hoover of the wife of the negro congressman from Illinois, Oscar De Priest, has been the most sensational event of recent times and the results of it cannot be with certainty prophesied. The only comment from the White House so far has been that the wives of all the congressmen were invited. In other words the present occupants of the White House have accepted and proposed to apply the principle that political status fixes social status.

This the Southern people who have had nearly all the experience with this problem which has been devolved in this country do not at all agree to. Their sentiments and their convictions both resolutely resist it and as far as they are concerned the argument is closed.

Nor is it inconsistent with their desire for the utmost possible welfare of the colored people. It is not any unwillingness to see them rise as high as they can. Let their social life increase in refinement and attain even to brilliance and they will receive the admiration of their white neighbors.

What the Southern white people oppose is the intermingling of the white and black people in purely social life. This they object to however successful in political and business life certain colored people may be and the number who will be thus successful will no doubt increase and if the principle that political or financial status determines social status is admitted and applied widely what Mrs. Hoover has begun at the White House will soon be frequently seen. In fact the De Priest incident may easily become the incipency and partly the cause of a social revolution as to this matter the results of which cannot be regarded with complacency by the Southern white people.

Several of the governors of Southern states and their wives have been faced by the same situation which resulted on the part of the Hoovers in their inviting of this colored woman. Colored men have been elected to the legislatures of the Southern states but the governors and their

wives have not felt that they should therefore invite the wives of these men to their homes. Their example might well have been followed by the president and his wife and all would have been quiet between the Potomac and the Rio Grande. As it is there is a sense of resentment and injury and many Southern people who supported Hoover are feeling that he showed a lamentable lack of imagination sympathetic with the South and that he is not unwilling to add to their burdens as to race relations which are certainly heavy enough already.

If this incident came about through thoughtlessness, careful deliberation, political expediency, or the mistaken idea that to mingle thus with white people is a right of the colored people which should no longer be denied them, or from whatsoever cause, it is deeply to be regretted and it is devoutly to be hoped by all who desire harmonious race relations that it will not be followed by similar incidents. Let the Hoovers hesitate and reconsider. — Washington (Ga.) News-Reporter.

What Do Southern Hooverites Say to This?

When Theodore Roosevelt broke bread with Booker T. Washington at the White House, the affair could be explained, if not excused, even to those who resented it, as being rather the recognition of the negro educator's achievements than an express effort to set an example in the interest of social equality. For a Northerner to take lunch with a negro, and a negro of Washington's genuine greatness, was not such a very advanced step, after all. Yet the country rang, it will be remembered, with exhortations of Roosevelt, and particularly in the tearing of many a passion.

The situation is quite different with respect to the courtesy shown by Mrs. Herbert Hoover Wednesday to the wife of Oscar De Priest, negro congressman from Illinois. In the latter a White House tea, the wives of two members of the cabinet, the wives of two representatives, the niece of a senator, and the wife of a negro congressman were all the invited guests of the wife of the president. What was a meeting be-

General.

tween two strong men, as between Roosevelt and Washington, contrasts with this later exclusively and intrinsically social event.

The responsibility is of course the president's. It is inconceivable that Mrs. Hoover would have undertaken this extraordinary step without his express approval or consent. And if resentment is to be registered anywhere against this striking exhibition of companionableness, it should be directed against Mr. Hoover.

Under the circumstances, one wonders how our Hoovercrat friends feel about this business. Does the honoring of a negress, whose sole claim to distinction is that her husband was elected to Congress by an overwhelmingly negro district in Chicago, augment or lower the opinion held of Mr. Hoover by Bishop Cannon and Dr. Barton, not to mention the lay brethren who thought Herbert Hoover anointed of God? Are the campaigners and others, who pooh-poohed and pish-pished, last year, any suggestion that the social system of the South might be affected by the election of Hoover, quite so insistent that they were justified in their effort to smash their party?

Will Southern Democrats who voted for Mr. Hoover be ready to praise him for what he has done?—The Birmingham Age-Herald.

In the South Democrats and Republicans alike regret that Mrs. Hoover used the indiscretion of inviting the wife of a negro congressman to tea and chatting with the colored sister on domestic subjects. The whites and the negroes understand each other in Dixie and they don't want what is commonly known as social equality, but, in the north it is different. White people receive colored people on an equal social footing, but they won't do for the colored man what his Southern friends will do. As an example, a Southern negro once heard that social equality might be had north of the Mason and Dixon line and betook himself to some northern city where he wanted to be his "white

friends." At residence after residence he knocked at the front door to be met by white laides who called him "Mister," but all of who turned him away. Finally he walked up to a front door and knocked. A white lady opened the door and exclaimed, "Go around to the back door, you black rascal." That colored man, in relating the story, declared he never felt so happy in his life, for he knew he had found a Southern lady and that he was going to get something to eat. She took him around to the back door, gave him a good feed and some used clothes and he went his way rejoicing.

DE PRIEST INCIDENT STILL STIRS SOUTH

Hoovercrats Especially Have
Been Placed in an Extremely
Uncomfortable Position.

EDUCATORS' PLAN SCORED

Bishop Disapproves Proposal for
Federal Control of Schools—
Interest in Waterways.

By JULIAN HARRIS.

Editorial Correspondence of THE NEW YORK TIMES.

COLUMBUS, Ga., July 4.—It would require several columns to give an accurate picture of the torn and harassed South with its chagrined and angry Hoovercrats and its joyous but also angry dyed-in-the-wool old-line Democrats, who swallowed their prejudices and voted for Alfred E. Smith. Which is to say that today, despite the fact that it is practically a month since Mrs. Hoover's mixed tea took place, some of us are still seething in white hot indignation.

The first reaction of the average Southern Democrat when the De Priest tea incident was made public was somewhat to the effect that nothing better was to be expected of a Republican administration. In addition it was a smashing blow to the Hoovercrats and would resolidify the South. The second reaction came when negro politicians of the type of Ben Davis, formerly Republican national committeeman for Georgia, began to elaborate the incident and garnish it with intimate details of the toilette of Representative de Priest's wife. Well, a lot of the true-blues sizzled and are still living in an atmosphere of excessive political humidity.

Driven from Pillar to Post.

As for the Hoovercrats, they were literally impaled upon one of their

most precious prejudices after having dodged that other justly notorious horn of the dilemma, their anti-Catholic bigotry. It was a perfect example of retributive justice—one prejudice had driven them into the Republican Party and a second prejudice has thrust them back into the bosom of Raskobian democracy. Only a rare few among the driest of the dries found the heart to defend the President and Mrs. Hoover. In the main the Hoovercrats felt that they had been betrayed and loudest and bitterest of the assaults on the tea party were made by southern newspapers which had bitterly attacked Smith and Raskob and led in the fight to carry the South for the Republican Party. As for the language used in private by some southern Hoovercrats, it is unprintable.

Strangely enough, what with the Legislatures of the Republican States of Texas and Florida condemning the incident, and the Legislatures of Georgia and Mississippi following suit, several newspapers which had most ardently supported Alfred E. Smith and assailed the bigotry of Hoovercratic southerners took a position in marked contrast to that of the Hoovercrat journals. Notable in its refusal to get over-perturbed was The Norfolk Virginian Pilot, while The Macon Telegraph and The Columbus Enquirer-Sun in Georgia saw the incident as unfortunate because of its effect on the vast majority of unthinking negroes, but expressed the belief that the invitation to De Priest's wife could not well have been avoided.

Naturally, a number of Democrats pointed out with pride that no Democratic President had ever entertained a negro in the White House. In fact, they asserted that only Roosevelt and Hoover had smashed through the color line. There followed a digging-up of records and when the dust of the musty files had settled it was discovered that Lincoln, Hayes, Grant, Coolidge and Cleveland had negroes as White House guests. Of course, records can be incorrect or unauthentic. So many of us in the South, Democrats and Hoovercrats, will continue to believe that the memory of the great Cleveland has been deliberately maligning. After all, isn't an illusion very comforting and, when destroyed, a disastrous piece of business?

STILL THE FOOTBALL

(Palmetta (S. C.) Leader)

What a dull place America would be without the Negro. Almost from the time he has been here, he has given the whites something to think about. — Indeed, some of the most noted statesmen of the country would hardly have been heard of had it not been for some questions grow- ing out of the presence in America of this same useful, good natured, yet valuable Negro. His presence, too, has so far all but proved Ameri- can democracy but a sham and hypo- critically pretentious. Even Chris- tianity itself has not gone unscathed. Last wee kCongress had what it looks at as some fun. The census- apportionment bill was up in the House of Representatives for discus- sion. A gentleman from Arkansas offered an amendment to exclude aliens from the count in deciding the representation each state should have in congress. The amendment was enthusiastically supported by some members from the Western States where there are but few aliens and by Southern representatives where there are still fewer aliens. The Northern and Eastern states have a large host of aliens and this amendment was a serious matter for them. Now there happens to be in the House of Representatives a man from Massachusetts, by name, George H. Tinkham. For years he has been advocating a reduction in Southern representation on the grounds that the South disfranchises the colored people in violation of the 14th and 15th amendments of the Constitu- tion. Being experienced and astute he saw his chance. He at once offered another amendment to the bill that no person over 21 should be counted if he was prevented from vot- ing. The Northern and Eastern rep- resentatives, Democrat and Republi- can, supported that amendment knowing that it was aimed at the South. It was passed. Consterna- tion prevailed. It simply would not deny to voters their constitutiona- lity. Then the Southerners thought again about not counting aliens; the Northerners thought again about not counting disfranchised Negroes, and both amendments were finally killed. Just a little game. That's all, and as usual the Negro was the ball

NEGRO MUST VOTE IN SOUTH
DECLARSS JUDGE JAYNE
Cleveland, July 5—The Negro's next battleground in America is over the ballot, declared Judge Ira W. Jayne, of the Wayne County Circuit Court, Detroit, addressing a mass meeting last night of the National Association for the Advancement of Col- ored People, now in 20th Anniversary Conference here. "The most ardent advocates of en- forcing some of the Amendments to the Constitution are the most strenu- ous nullifiers of the 14th and 15th Amendments," declared Judge Jayne. "The reapportionment battle in Con- gress has pointed out the vulnerable point of attack. It has shown that our Southern colored brothers are two-fifths of the value to our cause than the slaves were. "If we follow up this advantage we must come into our own in the South. It is the Negro's next battle ground for major engagements. "I said once to a convention of the National Association for the Advance- ment of Colored People that were I a Negro in the South I should come North, but I said that the time would come for this group to turn again to the South. The time is now. The challenge is here. The last Presi- dential campaign was disheartening and discouraging. It brought little immediate hope or joy but it did bring a golden opportunity. Two evenly matched political parties bring this hope and opportunity. The chance to vote and to have the vote counted is protected by law. "The most valuable effort in a large way of the National Associa- tion for the Advancement of Col- ored People is its carrying through of the white primary election cases in City councils in places where the Ne- gro has the balance of power will no enact segregation ordinances, will no deny to voters their constitutiona- lity. In speaking of the changes he has witnessed in recent years, Judge Jayne said that "Nordic supremacy" had returned to the mythical castle of Thor and Woden, and that in the arts, in literature, in business and

on the battlefield, the Negro had dem- onstrated his ability to take his place in American life.
NEW YORK SUN
JUL 9 1929
Now Large the Negro Vote?
TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: I read in THE SUN recently David Lawrence's remarks on what some politicians suggested might tend to sway the negro vote in Illinois, Indiana and New York. He speaks of the millions of negro voters in those three States. Do you not think he should be more careful of his fig- ures or that you should tone them down "sorter"? Unofficial sources, under date of July 1, 1928, give New York State a total negro population of 250,000; Illinois (including Chicago), a negro population of 225,000; Indiana, 125,000 negroes. Granting that the laws of those States permit every negro man, negro woman and negro child to vote, where do the millions come in? JOHN M. STANSFIELD.
Tampa, Fla., July 6.
IS THE SOUTH WILLING TO PAY THE PRICE?
Editor, The Advertiser: The Federal Constitution contains among its other provisions, a few amendments which were the direct or indirect products of some previous war. Chief among these are the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Eighteenth Amendments. The first three, above named were ratified immediately after the Civil War in 1917, during the heat of the World War the Eighteenth Amendment was drawn up and submitted to the States for ratification. On account of war measures then in force, such as the temporary shutting down of breweries and the closing of saloons within five miles of an oldiers' camp, the Eighteenth Amendment was given an unfair advantage to get in the Constitution, regardless of what the people thought. To say the least, its chances for ratification were far superior to what they would have been in normal times. The Civil War amendments represented argely the feelings of the victorious North for the beaten and defenseless South. The accept- ance of these amendments was some of the punishment which the South was forced to take on account of its secession from the Union. The carpet bag days, lasting for more than ten years, following the Civil War, were filled with Northern attempts to compel the South to accept these amendments all the way through. However, the North finally re- laxed in its determination to force the South to submit to political and social conditions to which it was so bitterly opposed. The carpet baggers were then removed and the South was allowed to work out its own governmental problems in its own way. Although the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments continued to remain a part of the Constitution.

ne North decided to make no further efforts to force them upon the unwilling people of the South. Now let us see how the South has acted and is continuing to act with regard to the Eighteenth Amendment. Politically, at least, the South is bone dry. In sentiment the South ap- pears to be the driest section of the Union. Many Southern political and religious leaders are stoutly insisting that the Eighteenth Amendment is a part of the Constitution and must be enforced in all States, regardless of local sentiment. The Southern States are pos- ing before the Nation as the leading champions of the Eighteenth Amendment. The Southern States are standing in the way of any modifi- cation or interpretation which would allow dif- ferent States to handle the prohibition question in their own way. By its actions the South is telling Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecti- cut, New York, New Jersey and Maryland that they will be compelled to abide by the Eight- enth Amendment as it is. The South is hold- ing the prohibition stick over Illinois, Wiscon- sin, Montana and Nevada and telling them that this law must be strictly obeyed. Numerous things have occurred in recent years to convince me that the South's un- yielding position on the Eighteenth Amendment is causing the North to resume its old time de- mand that the South must accept and abide by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Recent Federal Court decisions on racial questions show which way the wind is blowing. Mrs. Hoover's entertainment of the wife of De Priest is only an outcome of the Northern idea that, if one amendment must be obeyed, all the others must be accepted and carried out in the same light. The questions I want to ask are these: Are the Southern peo- ple willing to pay this price for the prohibition laws? Are they willing to accept, political and social equality for all races in order to keep and enforce the Eighteenth Amendment? If they are not willing to pay the price, which will surely be expected of them, let them open the way for home rule and State's rights on the prohibition problem.
Lufkin, Tex. W. E. BRATTON.
JUDGE WOULD ROB RACE OF SUFFRAGE
JACKSON, Mich., Dec. 12—Declar- ing that race citizens should not be allowed to vote and urging the re- peal of the fifteenth amendment to the United States Constitution to ef- fect this prevention, Judge James A. Comer of Little Rock, Ark. deliv- ered a fiery address to the state klor- ero convention of the women of the Ku Klux Klan assembled here Tues- day.

Political - 1929
Suffrage

The Apportionment Bill.

The reapportionment bill with the Hoch amendment eliminating the alien population in the North and East, and the Tinkham amendment eliminating the Negro population in the South has not a chance to pass but it is doing its share to estrange the Democrats from the two sections from each other.

The charge is made that the Southern Democrats are lined up with the prohibitionists and Ku Klux, and the North and Eastern Democrats seem to be lining up in retaliation behind the Tinkham amendment.

The bill will not pass, seems to be definitely certain, with the two amendments, or with either one of them. After wrangling and some bitterness it is likely that the bill with the amendments eliminated will be passed.

REGISTER
MOBILE, ALA.

JUN 6 1929

TINKHAM AND THE SOUTH

The Tinkham amendment to the reapportionment measure now before congress is a serious attack upon the constitutional rights of the states of the South. It also is an attack upon the political and constitutional rights of members of the negro race, for it seeks to exclude negroes from the census count for the purpose of determining representation in the national house of representatives. Members of this race who have failed to meet the franchise qualifications prescribed by states of the South would be without representation in the lower house of congress despite the fact that they are American citizens and that many of them pay taxes.

Tinkham's amendment seems to have been offered as an answer to another amendment which excludes aliens from the enumeration for purposes of representation in the lower house of con-

gress. Aliens are numerous in the large urban centers of the country, and the exclusion of this class would cut heavily into the representation of some of the big industrial states, just as the exclusion of negroes not able to vote would cut into the representation of these states of the South. It may be a question whether either of these classes can properly be excluded from the census count under the Constitution of the United States. The supreme court of the United States, so far as we know, has never passed directly upon the issues raised by these provisions of the proposed new apportionment measure.

Behind the Tinkham amendment, as a more or less constant setting for the Massachusetts statesman, is the Fourteenth Amendment with the penalizing provision which was automatically routed out of the Constitution by the Fifteenth Amendment. This dead provision in the Fourteenth Amendment undertook to authorize congress to reduce representation of states in the South in proportion to the number of citizens disfranchised by the election laws of these states. James G. Blaine, in his "Twenty Years In Congress," first called attention to the plain purposes of the Fifteenth Amendment, contending that both could not exist in the same instrument. The condition made the basis of a possible reduction of representation by the Fourteenth Amendment was prohibited absolutely by the Fifteenth Amendment, and as the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted and proclaimed at a date later than that on which the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted and proclaimed, it represented the final judgment of the American people on the precise question. Nothing has happened since that time to disturb the judgment thus written.

But this history seems to have left no impression upon statesmen of the Tinkham type. This same question, from time to time, has been brought forward in congress by members under heavy obligations to negro electors in their own states. It has never been raised in good faith; it has never been raised to help negroes in these Southern states; always it has been raised by members having large black constituencies, and raised merely as a friendly gesture to these constituencies. It is politics of a low order, and it is rather surprising to find members of congress frittering away precious time that might be put to better uses in an empty consideration of an empty issue.

At the same time representatives in both branches of congress from these Southern states cannot afford to be indifferent to the injustices and dangers inherent in this Tinkham proposal. If finally approved, and welded into the law, it probably would mean a loss of one-third of the South's representation in the national house of representatives. It would be hurtful, and infamously unjust, to impose this loss upon these Southern states at a time when we need representation and influence at the national capital; it would stir again the fading embers of sectionalism, and might develop a breach profoundly damaging to all regions of the country.

This Tinkham proposal is filled with poison. Congress should kill it, and turn its attention to more important matters.

AGE HERALD
BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

JUN 6 1929

erson.

The Tinkham Raid

It is a pity that, having at long last gotten to the business of reapportionment, the House should have gone off the reservation Tuesday by adopting two amendments which are expressions of sectional selfishness and jealousy rather than sound and enduring legislation. There is no excuse for the effort to eliminate aliens from the population count on which representation would be allotted. There is even less excuse for Tinkham's waving of the bloody shirt by seeking to penalize Southern states for their voters' tests which apply with particular force to negro residents.

Yet it is obvious that one resolution was but the reaction to the other. The movement to cripple the industrial East was met by the movement to cripple the South. Neither enterprise had the slightest justification in statesmanship. The elimination of aliens is being sought by those coming from states whose representation under the reapportionment scheme would be reduced, unless a considerable shrinkage in the swarming millions of the states with great populations is effected. On the other hand, in order to avoid this shift of the balances, the baited East undertakes to cut down to a lower level the already limited volume of people in the more sparsely settled sections of the country.

Latest reports are to the effect that House leaders are engaged in an effort

to have both amendments expunged. It is to be hoped that just this will happen. Nothing but pettiness and prejudice can be urged in support of either proposal, and nothing but confusion could come out of their retention in the project of carrying out the constitutional mandate on reapportionment.

To be sure, the Hon. Mr. Tinkham also presses the constitution forward as the authority for his device of forcing Southern states to grant the widest suffrage to negroes or suffer the consequences of having their congressional recognition materially abridged. For 10 years, he has been working, we are informed, thus to give the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments a local habitation and a name. His campaign bears fruit in this ill-advised attempt to enforce his conception of the amendments. If Mr. Tinkham were less the zealot, he would understand that his scheme will do nobody any good, least of all the negroes in whose behalf he offers his disturbing measure.

Whatever Massachusetts may think about it, the solution which the South has worked out for the suffrage problem imposed on it by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments is satisfactory to itself and consonant with the requirements of the constitution. What Mr. Tinkham is now trying to do is to bring about something which the Supreme Court has never been willing to demand. Through legislative compulsion that which could not be contrived by legal process is to be jammed through.

The Tinkham raid is not likely to succeed, and that because Republican leaders must see the folly of the enterprise. There were days when Republicans found it to their interest to stir the embers of sectional strife and to exasperate the people of the South. But that time has gone now. For strategic reasons the last thing which the Hoover administration should desire to do is to set aflame the passions of the sixties. On this ground it may be taken for granted that this revival of reconstruction tactics will soon be smothered.

On the other hand, it is to be remembered that during the last presidential campaign, many Alabama Democrats desecrated just the emergency which has arisen. They saw the shadows of coming events. They feared that a situation might soon develop in which a determined assault would be made on the integrity of the social civilization of the South through the application of Procrustean methods to its standing in the electoral college. That is the core of the Tinkham resolution, which can be described as nothing less than a perversion, under the circumstances, of the

task of reapportionment.

It is good news which comes from Washington that the Fess bill will be relieved of this partisan appendage, if leaders can have their way. In any case, this turn of affairs should have its special meaning to Southerners who were so enamored recently of the Republican party that they were ready to risk the undermining of the foundations of their house of life.

EXPRESS
PORTLAND, ME.

JUN 8 1929

ALIENS AND NEGROES

The flurry over the Hoch amendment to exclude the counting of aliens in the census enumeration and the Tinkham amendment to exclude Negroes not allowed to vote calmed down on Thursday. Both were eliminated and the bill went along substantially as it passed the Senate. The act goes to conference where the few little differences will amicably be ironed out, it will then be passed and will be off our hands. So we will take our census, have our reapportionment, Maine will lose one member and all will be well.

The Hoch scheme of not counting aliens for Congressional apportionment purposes was plainly in defiance of the Constitution. That document says that persons shall be counted, not citizens and people living in this Country, even though not born here and not naturalized are presumably persons. That would be the generally accepted idea. Whether citizens and not inhabitants should be the basis of representation is a debatable proposition. Were there as large a proportion of unnaturalized people in the Country when the fathers fixed up the Constitution, as now they might have given this question consideration. But there were few and apparently they didn't give it much thought.

The Tinkham amendment which provided that Negroes not allowed to vote should not be counted is a different proposition. Constitutional mandate requires that they shall not be counted. The Fourteenth amendment declares that "when the right to vote is denied to any male inhabitant of such

state, being 21 years of age and a citizen of the United States, or is abridged in any way, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens 21 years of age in such state."

This amendment was placed in the Constitution during the reconstruction period when Andrew Johnson was President. Along with the Fifteenth amendment it was designed to place the ballot in the hands of the freed slaves to insure political domination by the blacks of the states that lately had been in rebellion. The two amendments were inspired by partizanship and hate and not by logic or reason. Both are a dead letter and have been almost from the time of their adoption. Attempts have repeatedly been made to validate them by legislation, but invariably without success. Back in the so-called "nifty nineties" pretty nearly every Congress had a "force bill", so called, to reckon with. But it has been practically forgotten since. We are frequently told that a bad law should be repealed, but sometimes the way we do is to forget them. That has been true of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments.

Mr. Tinkham was sincere in offering his amendment, but it was not adopted in sincerity. The members seized upon it as a back fire to the Klan inspired Hoch impossibility and for that it proved effective. The House agreed to eliminate both, which is what was thought would be done.

Fayetteville, N. C., Advocate
Thursday, June 13, 1929

White Supremacy Threatened

The Tinkham Amendment
Aimed At The South And
Designed To Cut Down
Southern Representation
In Congress

Those who see in the Tinkam

Amendment a direct threat against White supremacy in the south are not mistaken even though it would not apply merely to negroes who are deprived of the privilege of the ballot. That it was aimed at the South and designed to cut down its representation in congress there is no doubt. This is unquestionably the aim behind the amendment. If there were nothing to indicate it, other than the fact that its author is from Massachusetts, the home of Senator Lodge, that would be sufficient.

It is a little peculiar that at this late day there should be an element in the republican party that is willing to stir up afresh the bitterness and animosity that characterized the relations between the North and South following the civil war by such a proposal as the Tinkham amendment.

The Republicans have had control of the government almost continuously since the war between the states anyway, with the chance of holding on indefinitely it seems, so why jeopardize the existing friendly relations by such damnable legislation?

The democrats of the South must stick together and fight to the last ditch all legislation that threatens white supremacy.

NEGRO AT THE POLES

The only living person who first touched the North pole is a colored man, Matt Henson, who accompanied Lieut. Peary. This is a record that is undisputed, even approved by the national government. Now it remains to be seen whether another Negro will go down in history as having reached the South pole. Every probability points in that direction. It is authentically reported that a colored lad is now with the Byrd South Polar expedition. Robert White Lannier is a Jersey City lad who was a stow-away on the Byrd ship when it left New York. His eagerness to go on the perilous trip, impressed the navigator who was inclined to allow him to remain. Unfavorable reports were given about him. To clear this away, he was landed at Cristobal, Panama Canal zone, from where he returned to New York to clear his escutcheon. Succeeding, he returned by way of San Francisco and Australia. It is now stated that he has rejoined the expedition in the Antarctic region with the proofs that his character is above reproach. This eagerness alone, should compel Commander Byrd to place a proper estimate on his stamina and allow him to go even

to the most southward part, treading the locality of the pole. There is every reason to believe that this may become true and the realization of it should cause elation among every race lover on the globe.

THE SYSTEM IS AT FAULT

Disfranchisement of the Negro in the South has again become the big topic of political discussion. Democrats in Congress have made public letters which they claim shows the purpose of lily-white southern republicans to bring about the election of Negro democrats in northern cities like New York and thereby make their own offenses against suffrage less objectionable.

No question is ever really settled until it is settled right. The intent of the fifteenth amendment was to give the Negro the ballot on equal terms with whites. Unhappily Congress has failed to pass the legislation needed to enforce the amendment. Just as the eighteenth amendment is made effective by the Volstead law, so the fifteenth amendment would have stopped being a dead letter, had the Force bill become a law nearly a half century ago. The trouble then as now was that white people, members of both parties, were not interested in the Negro voting. We are numbered in the census, and thereby help to determine the apportionment of congressmen, but republicans as well as democrats, were chosen with no thought of our opinion of them, until Oscar DePriest broke through in Chicago.

The fault is in the system. There is no healthy political conscience on this matter of Negroes voting. The Constitution's presumption of political equality is ignored in practice to the extent that these southerners making this expose of lily-white republican plans, offset one political trick by another, with no feeling of shame. Negroes have not even that to console them and assure them that better conditions are near. Neither is the nation shocked. Only the fact that the

question of our voting will not stay quiet gives support to our faith that right will prevail in the end.

Political-1929

I

General

Supra

Defeat of Census Looms as Result Of Blow at South

Effort To Cut Delegation in Congress Arouses Dixie and East—Democrats in Arms.

Constitution

BY GLADSTONE WILLIAMS.

Washington, June 5.—As house leaders of both political parties worked feverishly today to save the combined reapportionment census bill from the almost certain wreckage of the two highly controversial amendments added last night, southern congressmen stirred more than witnessed in a decade perhaps by acceptance of the Tinkham provision calling for a substantial reduction of the south's representation in congress and corresponding decrease in its voice in the national electoral college, due to alleged disfranchisement statutes aimed at negro voters. Realizing that with the amendments, contemplating the exclusion of all aliens and all negroes as a basis of the next congressional reapportionment, passage of the pending bill would be hopelessly lost, the house adjourned early today, almost at the fall of the opening gavel, in order to give leaders an opportunity to iron out the conflict.

Still To Be Clarified.

After remaining in conference for most of the day, Majority Leader Tilson announced to newspapermen that the situation still remained to be clarified, with little indication of what may develop on the floor. The only information he was able to give with certainty was that the two controversial amendments would again be brought up and decided by record votes.

A proposal had been made but rejected, he said, calling for combining the two amendments and having the question of throwing them out together voted on. This was to have been accomplished by the issuance of a special rule allowing such a procedure. Leaders decided to abandon the proposal, however, after it be-

were able to put through the Tinkham amendment.

Would Have Failed.

Otherwise the Tinkham proposal would never have succeeded. The Massachusetts congressman has offered the same measure in different form ever since he came to the house. Never before has he held a ghost of a show. Never before has he been able to obtain even a record vote. The matter was ignored.

But by taking advantage of a clear line of cleavage between the southern and eastern wings of democrats, strained already by issues developed in the last presidential campaign, he found himself in possession of a surprise victory.

There was an unmistakable tendency today, therefore, to view lightly the situation in which southern members found themselves. Members of congress from other sections of the country who ordinarily appreciate the southern viewpoint on the negro question and who under normal circumstances would be prepared to uphold them fully were disposed to blame the southern contingent themselves.

Played Poor Politics.

In short, they are being accused of playing poor politics. The charge is being made that, by having first cast their votes for the Hoch amendment, involving something of the same issue, their vociferous lament against the Tinkham proposal was presented with unclean hands.

At least that is the consensus of comment about the capital today.

Still no one takes seriously the thought that there is even an outside chance of the provision ever becoming law; and even if it should through some unconceivable parliamentary device, legal authorities say that the constitutionality of the amendment has no better chance of being upheld by the supreme court, where the issue would be finally decided.

Carrying all the objectionable elements of the old Lodge force bill and the later Dyer anti-lynching bill, both of which were defeated after bitter and prolonged filibusters in the senate, the Tinkham measure would be certain to meet the same fate. With the unlimited privileges of debate in the upper chamber southern leaders could easily talk it to death, even should it pass the final gantlet of the house, about which there is no assurance.

Has Sad Aspects.

Yet in the face of this outlook the situation is regarded as having its unfortunate aspects. It tends to widen the breach between the southern and eastern wings of the party, a matter which more conservative elements in the party are disposed to view with sincere regret. It tends to make more difficult the efforts of those who have been seeking to bring about a more harmonious amalgamation of the two divisions in preparation for the next national election.

Georgia Loses 30 Per Cent.

As for the effect of the amendment, if it should ever go through, Georgia, it is estimated, would lose perhaps 30

per cent of its present congressional representation, reducing the state's share from 12 to 7 or 8. South Carolina would have its delegation cut in half, and the same would apply, more or less, all the way down and behind the Mason-Dixon line.

Passage of the two amendments was followed by the wildest scenes witnessed in the lower house this session.

The alien execution clause was the first considered. Its presentation found weary-eyed members loitering around the floor awaiting the final gong of adjournment, hoping that the census-reapportionment bill might be disposed of then and there.

Opponents of the Hoch proposal vainly pleaded that to bar the alien population was contrary to the constitution. Representative Luce, Massachusetts, republican, gave a dissertation on the constitutional requirements for representation, insisting that the debates of the framers of that important document showed their intent to include aliens.

The sponsor of the amendment, Hoch, however, referred to an address by Representative St. George Tucker, of Virginia, regarded as one of the outstanding constitutional authorities of the country. The Virginian had contended that aliens could be barred from representation without constitutional change.

Amendment Adopted.

Finally the initial vote came. It showed the amendment adopted by 165 to 124 through a standing ballot. Someone demanded tellers and bells of the house rang out, summoning absentees to their seats in the chamber. This method of determining sentiment on the proposal developed an even greater margin.

Adoption of the amendment was received with jubilation by members from the south and middle west, where there is no alien problem to speak of.

A few minutes later Tinkham, short and pudgy, with a round face obscured by a long raven beard, pressed his amendment. No one except himself believed he had a chance. Earlier the house had rejected a similar proposal by him. But he seemed to reveal a master's knowledge of psychology he sensed the growing animosity of eastern democrats and their fellow republicans against southern members who supported the Hoch measure.

On the initial standing vote the amendment lost by a count of 121 to 100. Representative Fiorello LaGuardia, diminutive firebrand republican of New York, himself of Italian ancestry, demanded a vote by tellers Tinkham joining in the move. Tellers call for a vote by each member passing a given point while being counted.

Joy Was Supreme.

As the tellers announced the result of their poll, 145 for the amendment to 118 against, the round little Massachusetts member, highly excited, bounced up and down in the well of the house his full, black beard bobbing like a cork on the waves. For 11 years, ever since he first came to congress, he had made a hobby of this amendment. Now it was approved. His joy was supreme.

No sooner had the vote been announced than bedlam broke loose.

Representative Chindblom, republican, of Illinois, was presiding. He banged his gavel with futile fury. Order was restored only after he warned that unless the commotion ceased he would dissolve the committee of the whole, a parliamentary form in which the house was then sitting. Still it required a full 60 seconds after this to preserve quiet.

Democrats Stunned.

Democrats were stunned by the blow. Only one made any effort to challenge the action. Representative Green, Florida, protested above the din that the teller vote had been taken contrary to rules of the body, charging that both tellers were supporters of the amendment.

The house laughed him down when one of the functionaries announced he had voted against the amendment.

Democratic members from Massachusetts and New York organized the support among their own ranks in favor of the Tinkham proposal. When the initial count revealed a shortage of strength they ran about like temporary madmen bringing doubtful colleagues into line. Representative John Carew, leader of the Tammany delegation, voted against the anti-southern measure but was deserted by most of his party associates from the New York city organization.

Tammany's section was one of the most interesting subjects of comment about capitol corridors today. The south had broken its traditional democratic moorings by voting against the candidacy of Governor Alfred E. Smith and now Tammany, chief defender of the southern cause during the trying post Civil War days, was retaliating.

Insists Hoover Force Dixie to Let Negro Vote

May 5.

[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

Washington, D. C., May 5.—[Special.]—Representative George Holden Tinkham [Rep., Mass.] today renewed his campaign to have President Hoover include the 14th and 15th amendments in his law enforcement program.

In a letter to Attorney General William D. Mitchell, Mr. Tinkham asserts that it is the duty of President Hoover to recommend passage of legislation for enforcing these amendments, now nullified by the southern states. The fact that enforcement laws are not on the statute books does not excuse a President from enforcement of any particular amendments as long as the amendment ex-

ists, representative Tinkham asserts. Calling attention to Mr. Hoover's recent utterances in behalf of law enforcement, Mr. Tinkham asserted that the President must work for enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments if he is to be consistent.

Notoriously Nullified.

"The 14th and 15th amendments are notoriously nullified in many states of the Union," Mr. Tinkham said, "and if the President of the United States does not recommend their enforcement to the congress, and, further, refuses to refer the question of their enforcement to his proposed national investigating committee, he is electing what parts of the constitution shall be enforced and what parts shall not be enforced. He is a party to the destruction of the integrity of the constitution."

By his example he is bringing about the thing against which he protested in his inaugural address when he said: "Our whole system of self-government will crumble either if officials elect what laws they will enforce or citizens elect what laws they will support. The worst evil of disregard for some law is that it destroys respect for all law."

Representative Tinkham asserted that the constitutional duty of a President plainly is much greater than simply enforcement of such laws as congress may pass.

Acknowledges Letter.

"Your communication of April 17 was duly received," Mr. Tinkham writes, referring to a letter received from Attorney General Mitchell acknowledging the receipt of a previous appeal for presidential enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments.

"The irresistible conclusion to be drawn from it would seem to be that because congress has passed no law to enforce either the 14th or the 15th amendment of the constitution, the President is under no constitutional obligation to address himself to their enforcement; that the constitutional duty of the President is to enforce such laws as congress may pass.

"The constitutional duty of the President is plainly much greater than this.

Quotes Constitution.

"Allow me to draw to your attention:

"1. Section 8 of article 2 of the constitution, which provides that the President must take an oath that he will 'to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States.'

"2. Section 3 of article 2, which provides:

"[He, the President] shall from time to time give to the congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient."

"3. The statement of the President in his inaugural address:

"It appears to me that the more important further mandates from the recent election were the maintenance of the integrity of the constitution."

**NEGRO EXCLUSION
FROM NEW CENSUS
BEATEN BY COUP**

Constitution
**Administration Steam
Roller, Disregarding Par-
liamentary Rules, Pushes
Measure to Passage.**

6-7-29
**EAST AND SOUTH
JOIN IN VICTORY**
Atlanta, Ga.
**Georgia Delegation To
Remain Untouched After
Next Count—California
To Gain Six Seats.**

BY GLADSTONE WILLIAMS.

Washington, June 6.—Through the operation of a well oiled steam roller from almost certain defeat the congressional reapportionment census bill, which had been threatened with dis- enforcement; that the constitutional duty of the President is to enforce such laws as congress may pass.

Although the session started out in a fever of excitement with the fate of the bill still in doubt, it did not take long to reveal that leaders had the situation well in hand, and before the final gong of adjournment sounded late today the house had passed, by a vote of 272 to 105, the long-delayed measure, minus the two controversial provisions.

South and East Pacified.

In consequence, southern democrats tonight found the tension somewhat relieved between them and eastern members of the party who had joined with middle western elements in

thrusting through the Tinkham amendment, contemplating a substantial reduction in southern congressional representation on account of statutes seeking to overcome enfranchisement provisions of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. With the Tinkham amendment went the alien exclusion clause, bitterly opposed by members of congress from the large industrial centers of population and incorporated in the bill through a combination of southern and middle western votes.

To majority Leader Tilson, of Connecticut, is due most of the credit for ironing out a situation which at first threatened to become one of the most involved witnessed at the capital in many years. Facing a storm of protests on both sides, he gathered together the loose strands of the shattered bill and by employing a series of questionable but practical parliamentary tactics succeeded in bringing order out of chaos.

Substitutes New Bill.

The Tilson coup took the form of an amendment substituting a new bill for the overburdened measure under consideration. It contained the same general provisions as the other except those relating to southern representation and alien exclusion. Trained parliamentarians of the house were of the opinion that the amendment was in violation of all rules and precedents, but Representative Chindblom, republican wheelhorse of Illinois, was in the chair, and whether by pre-arrangement or otherwise, he approved its admissibility. Later the Tilson substitute was adopted by a vote of 212 to 102.

Thus the two controversial amendments were eliminated. It only remained for the bill to preserve this status.

The fight had only started, however, for, almost immediately, Representative Hoch, republican, of Kansas, offered again his amendment seeking the exclusion of aliens as a basis of reapportionment. It was his only method of having the provision reinserted in the bill. By this time the speaker's chair was well perched on legislative steam-roller, and Representative Chindblom, still at the throttle, found it expedient to uphold a point of order against the Hoch proposal.

Fail to Override Chair.

No sooner was the ruling announced than the storm broke anew. Demands were made to overrule the decision of the chair and a prolonged debate ensued. In announcing his ruling, Presiding Officer Chindblom had impressed southern members by reading copiously from other rulings along the same line throwing out as not germane the anti-southern proposal of Representative Tinkham, republican, of Massachusetts, who has submitted his measure regularly and at every opportunity throughout the 10 or more years he has been a member of congress. Since the votes of southern democrats were needed to overthrow the chair, his reference to the Tinkham matter was taken as a warning that unless the ruling were sustained something untoward might happen to the negro exclusion clause which every one knew would follow if the Hoch amendment prevailed.

When the vote was taken the alien exclusionists were unable to approach

the two-thirds majority necessary to overthrow the chair. The best they were able to poll was 129 against 202 for upholding the decision—not even a majority, a fact which indicated that many of the democratic contingent reversed themselves on the issue, realizing, perhaps, they had played poor politics on the initial count.

Informed by this vote that he now faced certain defeat, Representative Tinkham, his ruddy face aglow and his long, raven whiskers bobbing on his chin, bounced out of the chamber in high dudgeon. He was not seen in the well of the house for the rest of the day.

The census-reapportionment bill, already passed by the senate, now goes to conference for adjustment of one or two minor differences. One of the chief changes ordered by the house places the date of the next national enumeration as May, 1930, instead of November, 1929, as provided by the senate.

GEORGIA DELEGATION TO REMAIN SAME.

Washington, June 6.—(P)—Seventeen states would lose 23 representatives which would be distributed among 11 states under a reapportionment of the house on the basis of estimated population for 1930. The reapportionment bill passed today would provide that the house seats should be divided among the different states on the basis of the population census, the new allotment of seats to be made by the director of the census if congress should fail to act.

On a basis of 435 members and using the estimated 1930 population, the following states would lose: Missouri 3, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky and Mississippi 2 each, Alabama, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New York, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Vermont and Virginia one each.

The following states would gain: California 6, Michigan 4, Ohio 3, New Jersey and Texas, 2 each; Arizona, Connecticut, Florida, North Carolina, Oklahoma and Washington, 1 each.

LEADER

Stanton, Va.

**APR 10 1929
THE 14TH AND 15TH
AMENDMENTS**

George Holden Tinkham, Republican, of Massachusetts, nominated and elected to Congress by both the Republican and Democratic parties, graduate of Harvard, lawyer, has a very inquiring and logical mind, and takes part in much of the work of Congress. He has one notable quality, not as common as it ought to be in public men, in that he speaks his mind regardless of audience or

consequences. He has had some quite uncomplimentary things to say of those who father the various extreme measures used in effort to enforce the 18th amendment.

In his various deliverances he sometimes gets on the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution, adopted to secure to the enfranchised negroes their rights as citizens in the matter of equality before the law, especially voting privileges. He repeatedly calls on the dries to take some interest in the enforcement of these two amendments. He cannot understand why these dries should calmly condone what he terms violations of these two amendments, while so solicitous concerning the enforcement of the 18th.

We have no fault to find with Mr. Tinkham with reference to the 14th and 15th amendments. He probably honestly thinks the Southern States are wholesale violators of these amendments. We take it he has never studied carefully the various steps that, since the adoption of these amendments, have been taken to enforce them. Several suits have been brought to test the question whether the amendments are being violated in various Southern States. He probably does not know that none of these suits has amounted to anything, for it has been impossible to show that the Constitution and laws of any Southern State discriminate against the negro. Take Virginia for instance: Virginia's Constitution and laws apply to white and colored alike, and if he will compare our provisions with those of the State of Massachusetts, his own State, he will probably find that Virginia has more liberal election laws for both white and colored than has his own State. Virginia has never feared a test suit, nor does Virginia fear one today. Virginia for instance permits all veterans of the Civil War to vote without requiring prepayment of polltax. There were many Virginia negroes who served in the Union armies and all of these living in the State have been permitted in past years, if registered, to vote with

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II

Suffrage

But paying this tax just as white? We don't mean, Mr. Union veterans have been per-finkham, Massachusetts Republican, that is a different thing altogether. What special privilege in voting has Massachusetts extended to veterans of Massachusetts Republican, especially a Harvard graduate and both races in this way? Virginia, especially a Harvard graduate and has an educational qualification, one the Democrats think enough but if we are not mistaken it is not as speaking as the Massachusetts provision on the subject.

Southerners would welcome a movement on the part of Representative Tinkham to bring suits to test these questions. The South is tired of being held up as violating the fundamental law of the land, and would like some of its critics to translate their words into action, and undertake to demonstrate the correctness of their charges.

The truth of the matter is, the substantial white people of the South understand the negroes better, and have a more kindly feeling for them than have the people of the North or West. They have never stooped to attempting to use them politically as the Republicans of the Nation and especially of the South have not.

only attempted to do but have been doing ever since the Civil War. That was an amusing incident reported a day or two ago, when the new Republican Congressman from North Carolina telegraphed from his home in North Carolina to Washington, indignantly refusing to occupy an office assigned to him next door to the one assigned to the recently elected negro Congressman from Chicago. Why cannot these brethren dwell together in unity?

Massachusetts and Virginia are very close socially and we cannot help admiring our friend Mr. Tinkham, and we wonder what he thinks of this North Carolina Republican Congressman in connection with the spirit of the 14th and 15th amendments. What can the negro Congressman from Chicago do to this North Carolinian that will make him any use than being a Southern Re-

N. Y. EVE. WORLD

JUN 6 1929 FANATICISM STILL UNDERMINING THE FOUNDATIONS

There were times Tuesday during the consideration of the Census Reapportionment Bill when the House of Representatives seemed like the Ku Klux Klan in convention assembled. Through a coalition of Democrats and Republicans, acting in fear of the Klan, it was determined that aliens shall not be considered as persons in the census and reapportionment. This determination was written into the bill in the form of an amendment. To reach the decision made it was necessary to make a mockery of common sense. The purpose is to reduce the representation in Congress of States where the dry sentiment is not strong.

In retaliation for this, another amendment was adopted depriving the South of the advantage in representation of Negroes who do not qualify for the franchise under State laws. This, if retained, will deprive every Southern State of from one to five members, according to calculation.

The bitterness of the debate was appalling and sectional feeling was aroused to a degree not seen since the close of the "bloody shirt" period of our history. Fanaticism brought on one Civil War and, unless common sense intervenes, fanaticism may bring another. A clash between sections that certainly will not make for national solidarity, if it does not go so far as armed conflict.

Under the interpretation of "persons" adopted, one may well wonder what legal constitutional rights aliens now have in America.

But there is another item in the bill which is vicious in principle—that which puts it up to one man, the Secretary of Commerce, to reapportion Congressional seats every ten years. This reapportionment is to be made automatically on figures submitted by the Secretary of Commerce, and Congress is to have nothing to do with it.

Thus, we are rapidly changing our governmental plan and concentrating power more and more in one man. The President is to take over the taxing power without regard to Congress, in which the Constitution lodges the power, through the amendment to the tariff on the flexibility feature. Thus, the Customs Courts are to be deprived of power which is to be exercised by the Secretary of the Treasury. And now the vitally important matter of Congressional apportionment is to be largely in the hands of the Secretary of Commerce.

We are living in a day involving threats to the fundamental principles of government, and yet the fundamentals are being ignored as never before.

BROOKLYN EAGLE

JUN 7 1929 Reapportionment Bill Saved.

No parliamentary tangle of recent years has seemed graver than the one over the Census and Reapportionment Bill in Congress. Most prophets familiar with cognate situations had predicted that the bill was lost, after the House in Committee of the Whole had inserted a wholly unconstitutional amendment, rejected by the Senate, to exclude aliens from the basis for allotting Congressmen to the several States on the theory that aliens were not "persons," and had also inserted the Tinkham amendment excluding Negroes who are prevented from voting. If the House in its formal vote had backed up what it did in Committee of the Whole the prophets would have been justified in their forecast.

The majority floor leader, Mr. Tilson of Connecticut, is to be congratulated heartily by honest Democrats as well as honest Republicans on his skill in straightening out the tangle and bringing about a vote on which the bill without either of these amendments was passed, by 270 to 104. There are still differences between the House measure and the Senate measure, particularly in the matter of putting census enumerators under the Civil Service laws. But these are not differences which conferees should have any difficulty in removing. It is a safe prediction that the bill will become a law.

And every honest Democrat, like every honest Republican, knows that it would have been a scandal of the most serious sort if this long-debated reapportionment legislation had been de-tracked again. The cardinal feature in our system of government is the representation of each State proportionately to its population in the lower House which has the exclusive prerogative of initiating bills to tax the people and create revenue. The first duty of a Congress-

meeting after a census is to provide the form of apportionment that shall carry out the constitutional provisions. This duty has been neglected for almost ten years. It has been neglected because the backward States that would lose votes have blocked action. Today the House of 435 members is not duly or adequately representing the great industrial States, which are also the States of the highest wealth and the highest cultivation. Under the present measure the number of members will not be changed. The Lily White South will retain its unjust advantage through strength based on nonvoting Negroes. But as a whole the progressive tendencies of America will come close to getting dues, and New York State and city will no longer suffer as they are suffering from discrimination never contemplated by the framers of organic law.

LOOKING AND LISTENING

BY SAM W. SMALL

The Humors of the Tinkham Scheme To Cut Down Southern Representation.

balloon ever since he was thrown into congress to keep him out of Boston as much as possible. He has paraded up and down the aisles of the House with it, session after session, and it would be a relief to congress if he were voted out. Al Smith by a majority of 17, into the census bill, where it has no more business to be than the dope-sheet of a dog race. Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Florida and Texas were giving their electoral votes to registered voter, white as well as black, not only in the southern states but in all the states, and put him on oath as to why he did not vote. and as to who abridged his right to vote, if any one did, and why? It would be absolutely impossible, I am sure, to find a non-idiotic negro adult in Georgia who could or would testify that his vote had been denied to him by means of force, terrorism, or in violation of the fourteenth amendment to the national constitution.

There were last year only 78,415 negroes in Georgia who had qualified as voters by so much as having paid their poll taxes and I am confident every one of them who wished to vote for Hoover enjoyed the privilege.

Why the Others Didn't Vote. The reason the 400,000 other adult negroes in the state did not qualify is known to them and to all other citizens. It was the same reason exactly that kept 475,000 white adults from not going to the polls last November to vote for either Smith or Hoover. Those 875,000 whites and negroes simply could not or would not qualify under the law in order to be entitled to vote. The default in every case was the act of the individual. The state—



its constitution, its laws and its officials—had nothing whatever to do with their self-disfranchisement.

Now the queer question arises as to how Tinky would have the president, the attorney-general, the congress, or the courts go about to discover who are the millions of citizens "over 21 years of age" in the 48 states who when they do not vote fail to do so because their right is "denied" or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crimes."

If any more ridiculous—not to say "jassackical"—(which is an ancient congressional epithet) has been proposed in the American congress since Jim Ashley, of Ohio, was patted in the face with a sexton's spade, throw the limelight on it and let the world see it!

* * * *

Now Let Tink Explain Some.

In Tink's "commonwealth of the sacred cod," known to doubtful fame as Massachusetts, the state census of 1925 registered 2,352,076 voters in the state; but in the presidential election of last year only 1,557,819 of them went to the polls and voted. Why the other 775,257 stayed away, I am unable to understand, unless like the whites and negroes in Georgia who didn't vote in that election, they were in the Tinkham view "denied" or "abridged" in some way other than "for participation in rebellion, or other crime!"

It will be interesting to hear what Tink has to say about those figures.

In Georgia an adult in order to register as a qualified voter must have certain residence status, ability to read and write, and have paid all taxes which he or she has had opportunity to pay.

In Massachusetts the adult wishing to vote must have almost precisely the same qualifications: be able to read the constitution and write his or her name.

In Connecticut the voter must have "good moral character" and ability to read the constitution.

In fact the requisitions which disfranchise adults are more drastic in most eastern and northern states than they are in any southern state.

But we southern people "should worry" about the Tinkham scheme—I don't think!

THE Fourteenth Amendment is what might be called, in baseball parlance, a sacrifice hit. It never had any intrinsic merit in itself, but was calculated to effect an ulterior purpose.

After the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment slavery ceased to exist as an organized institution. Representation in Congress by the original Constitution was based upon free persons and other persons, in the ratio of five to three. Logically, the Fourteenth Amendment was wholly unnecessary. All free persons, and all persons were then free, automatically acquired equal weight as a representative entity.

The device of curtailment of representation was merely a makeshift to induce the former slave states to accord to the Negro the elective franchise. It never was intended to limit the basis of representation, except to meet the exigencies of a local and temporary situation.

The membership of the House of Representatives and of the Electoral College is based primarily upon population, without regard to sex, race, nationality, or the right of franchise. Women, whom the fathers never dreamed of enfranchising, counted equally with men; children, who were expressly excluded by the age requirement, had like weight as adults; foreigners and native born contributed equally to the quota.

Only the slave and the Indian, not taxed, were restricted or excluded on the basis of apportionment. There never was, and there is not now, any serious intention of altering this original intention to count every person as one, regardless of political or natural peculiarities.

The Fourteenth failed from the outset, failed utterly, to effect the purpose for which it was intended.

The Fifteenth Amendment was added to accomplish directly what the former expediency had failed to accomplish by indirection. The Fourteenth Amendment has never been enforced, and in all human probability never will be. Congressman Crumpacker of Ohio, some twenty-five or so years ago, espoused the cause of reduction of Congressional representation, but like Mr. Tinkham of Massachusetts, his present day counterpart, could hardly muster enough reinforcement to get a second to his motion.

Seven presidents and nine administrations have come since President Harrison, and yet no one of them lifted its little finger to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment. It is a safe prediction that Mr. Hoover, after his probable eight years in the White House, will leave the situation in the same posture as he inherited it from Mr. Coolidge.

The Negro has been clamoring in and out of season for the rigid enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment and the reduction of Southern representation. His motive is wholly vindictive. He resents, and naturally enough, the thought that the white Democrats should profiteer on his representative capacity while denying him participation in the political power based upon his numbers.

The idea is ethically vicious and arouses the animosity of the victimized race. But his protest reminds us of an infant crying in the night, with no language but a cry. His demand for full enforcement does not represent his attitude towards political virtue, but merely illustrates the human tendency to scream when the shoe pinches. If he cried as loudly for the Eighteenth as for the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, his contention would carry more moral weight.

It is very much to be doubted whether the enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment would redound to the political advantage of the Negro. Should the six or seven Southern states which are allowed to violate this constitutional provision with impunity decide to enforce or to live up to its observance, they would, doubtless prefer limited representation than admit the Negro to equal participation in the franchise. Should this occur, there would be little hope for the black man's political future.

It seems to me that the wise policy is to focus effort on the enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment which forbids discrimination in the franchise on account of race and color. If this were been enforced, and in all human probability never will be. Certainly have little further grounds of complaint by reason of reasonable and equitable limitations which any state might deem best to place upon the right to vote. Such restrictions, however, are extremely unlikely.

The Fourteenth Amendment

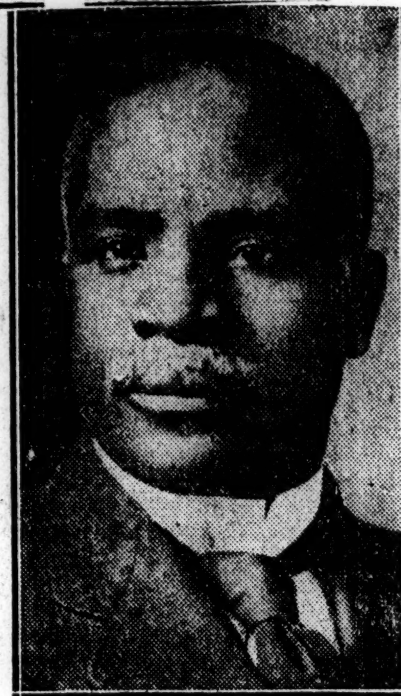
By KELLY MILLER

The tendency of democracy all over the world is in the direction of extension rather than of restricting the franchise. The Nineteenth Amendment extending the right to vote to women indicates the direction in which the political tide is running.

It is too painfully manifested that the American people have no inclination to enforce the Constitution when it suits their mood not to do so. The Eighteenth Amendment is a striking illustration of this principle, or rather lack of principle. In the present mood of mind the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments have been and will be ignored with impunity. Congress alone has the power to enforce these amendments, but Congress does not choose to exercise that power.

Congress is now passing a reapportionment act. There has been a deliberate and studied violation of the plain letter of the Constitution for ten years. The Electoral College and the Constitution of Congress have been based on unconstitutional grounds and the government itself and all of its acts are involved in deep dubiety. But no one heeds the exactions of constitutional niceties. The thing works and the government still lives, although the provisions of the Constitution have been brought to nought.

Just how long this condition of things is to continue is a question which gives the true patriot serious concern. Ex-President and now Chief Justice Taft has sounded the warning that lawlessness, if allowed to continue unchecked, destroys the nation. Violation of the Constitution is the fountain-head of lawlessness.



— Kelly Miller —

Political - 1929

Suffrage
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THE QUARREL OVER REPRESENTATION

Although the First Article of the Constitution provides that "representatives * * * shall be apportioned among the several States * * * according to their respective numbers * * * within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct," there has been no apportionment act since Aug. 8, 1911. There can now be no new apportionment until after the census of 1930. In failing to reapportion after the census of 1920 Congress has violated the plain mandate of the Constitution.

This is the first time in American history that such a refusal to apportion representatives has occurred. The record shows that for a hundred and twenty years Congress obeyed the Constitution and made a new apportionment within three years of the taking of the census. Why is it that since 1920 Congress has failed to act? The answer is simple. Up to and including the apportionment act of 1911 the total number of representatives to be apportioned was steadily increased at the rate of thirty to fifty members every ten years. The result was that while the States which were growing faster than others enlarged their representation the slower-growing States did not have to lose any representation. Thus the size of the House of Representatives grew from sixty-five members in 1792 to 433 members in 1911. It was then universally agreed that 435 members was as large a House of Representatives as the country ought to have.

The fixing of the figure at 435 has created this problem which has deadlocked Congress since 1920. For obviously if there are only 435 members to be apportioned, and if some States are growing faster than others, then some States must gain representatives at the expense of others. Certain Southern and Western States have been faced with actual loss of members in the House, and consequently of votes in the Electoral College and in the National Conventions. Rather than accept this loss they have preferred to nullify the Constitution.

The unwillingness of the slower-growing States to accept a reduction is the basic fact in the whole issue. It follows directly from the decision not to increase the total number of representatives. There

is, however, a further complication. When the total number to be apportioned is fixed the mathematical formula for determining the apportionment becomes highly important. Up to 1911, since no States had to lose representatives, a rough-and-ready ratio to population was workable. But now certain States must lose, and the mathematical method employed makes a considerable difference to certain States. The problem has been studied for years by the leading mathematicians of the country, and it is impossible here to follow the whole chain of their reasoning. It is enough to say that among five methods which are possible the one known as "the Method of Equal Proportions" is the fairest. It can be shown that other methods favor either the larger States or the smaller, whereas the Method of Equal Proportions has no bias. It is not perfect. No method can be perfect, for a mathematically perfect method would be one which made the number of votes for any particular State be to the total number of votes for all States as the population of the particular State is to the total population of all States. If this were calculated it would give one State 7 3-10 members and another 34 6-10 members. It is impossible to divide representatives into fractions. You can't give a State 6-10 of a member. But any other method creates some inequality. All that can be said of the Method of Equal Proportions is that it figures out with the least possible inequality. Unfortunately Congress has not adopted this method. It has adopted one called the Method of Major Fractions, which has a distinct bias in favor of the larger States. The slower-growing States are in rebellion against the apportionment. There are seventeen States which stand to lose one or more representatives. They are Alabama, Indiana (2), Iowa (2), Kansas, Kentucky (2), Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Mississippi (2), Missouri (3), Nebraska, New York, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia. There are eleven States which stand to gain. They are Arizona, California (6), Connecticut, Florida, Michigan (4), New Jersey (2), North Carolina, Ohio (3), Oklahoma, Texas (2), Washington. There are twenty States which would not gain or lose.

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General

This situation has provoked the movement in the South and Middle West to exclude aliens from the count of "persons" on which representation is based. The effect of excluding aliens is frankly set forth by Representative Hoch of Kansas as follows. He used the census of 1920 for his estimate:

Arkansas, Georgia and Oklahoma would gain Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Nebraska instead of losing would remain the same. Missouri would lose only one representative. California, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania would gain less, remain the same or lose. No wonder that the proposal to exclude aliens from the count makes such an appeal in the South and Middle West.

The proposal happens to be unconstitutional. The Constitution says that the apportionment to the several States shall be "according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding the whole number of free persons * * * and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons." The "all other persons" referred to were, of course, Negro slaves. Now it is proposed to exclude aliens. In other words, although the authors of the Constitution were willing to count a slave as three-fifths of a person for purposes of representation, a Klan-minded coalition in Congress now proposes not to count unnaturalized aliens at all. They were counted for a hundred and thirty years. Now they are not to be counted, and the purpose of this plain defiance of the letter and spirit of the Constitution is to cut down representation of certain States for the benefit of other States.

This is a singularly brazen performance and it is interesting to observe that the authors of the proposal tacitly admit that they are tampering with constitutional rights. They know quite well that the Supreme Court is not likely to countenance their move and so in their own amendment they say:

The word "persons" as used in this section shall not be construed to include aliens. If any provision of this section is declared to be unconstitutional the validity of the remainder of the act shall not be affected thereby.

Could there be clearer evidence of a bad conscience? As a matter of fact they will not carry out their plan. The Senate has already defeated it, and the States which would be wronged can be depended upon to see that the wrong is not carried into effect. They have been patient long enough. For sixty years they have tolerated over-representation of Southern States in defiance of

the Fifteenth Amendment. For ten years they have tolerated a nullification of Article I. There is no reason why they should be patient much longer. The principle of our government is that the House of Representatives and the Electoral College shall be fixed by population. This principle is fundamental and it will not be given up to suit sectional, partisan or pharisaical prejudices.

SIXTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

Sixty-five years ago, according to the Chicago Tribune, 100,000 women signed a petition to congress asking for the federal government to abolish slavery. On the face of things, it looks as if their petition was granted, but a more careful search into conditions in America today gives rise to the belief that another petition is needed. *Defender* America today is, in many respects, worse than it was 65 years ago. Slavery, legal or illegal, is slavery, and has the same effect upon the community in which it prevails. That there are several laws today guaranteeing to every person equality and justice means nothing when it is observed that the laws are ignored from one coast in America to the other.

And that brings us to the question: "Are there 100,000 American women of today who will sign a petition asking congress to enforce the 14th amendment? Are there 100,000 women of the white race today who believe that this country owes justice to all its citizens? Are there 100,000 women of America who would attach their names to a petition asking congress to take official cognizance of lynching and to blot out that horrible crime? If there are, and if they are willing to fight the cause of humanity against greed, prejudice and injustice, there is yet hope for America." *3-1-21*

REGISTER
DES MOINES, IA.

APR 30 1928
MUDDLING THE ISSUES.

Not every reader will be interested in the legal phases of the debate over the various amendments to the national constitution. Still what Congressman Tinkham says on this page in support of his contention that congress has ample authority today to control voting in the southern states is well worth study.

But there is a fundamental difference between the fourteenth, fifteenth and nineteenth amendments which issue orders to the states about suffrage, and the eighteenth which takes liquor control away from the state entirely and puts it with congress.

Even if congress should enact a national election law on the theory of Congressman Tinkham national control of elections would not be on the same footing with national enforcement of prohibition and national enforcement of prohibition is hard enough in the states that do not want the law enforced.

Consider the nineteenth amendment, which says no state shall withhold suffrage because of sex. Suppose some state to be violently hostile to woman suffrage. Would it not be possible to adopt all sorts of restrictions on suffrage that would be effective, and yet avoid the appearance of sex discrimination?

In the case of Negro suffrage the supreme court held in the Michigan case that the primary election does not come under national control. Congress cannot issue orders regulating the holding of primaries even for the nomination of senators and congressmen. The southern states at once restricted the primary election to the white voters. How can a national election law be admitted to the primary and if he is not admitted to the primary, of what importance is the vote in November, but in a few large matters?

Of course if Congressman Tinkham can persuade congress to enact a national election law attention will again be centered on a matter of supreme importance. Out of the debate something will be bound to come. But The Register cannot believe that the ballot will ever be free from some sort of discrimination so long as it is left with the states. Voting should be national and citizenship should be national, the effort should be to nationalize rather than to assume some new national control over state authority.

Of course the general interpretation put on Congressman Tinkham's revival of the debate over the war amendments is embarrassing to the president in his enforcement of the liquor law. The congressman is himself a dry but he comes from a wet part of Massachusetts. But this speech from which he quotes was delivered a year ago, and he must have given the benefit of the doubt insisting in season and out of season that if any amendments are to

be taken up for action the suffrage amendments, if they do not come first, at least must not be lost sight of. The Register which is fully as friendly to one set of amendments as to the other does not believe any good at all is going to come from mixing the issues. The eighteenth amendment is a national matter and should be enforced nationally as President Hoover urges. The suffrage amendments give orders to the states, and so long as suffrage is made a state matter there is going to be embarrassment in interfering effectively by national authority. It may be a long road to travel but suffrage should be made national. In this respect suffrage is with a lot of other large American interests that were left to the states in the old days of state sovereignty. We shall never get very far until we take over national control of all national interests, and leave to the state what is distinctively of the state, just as today in the state we leave to the county and the municipality what is distinctly local to them. Giving Congressman Tinkham credit for the best of motives in showing the war amendments into the foreground as the administration gets behind the liquor amendment, he is not going to gain anything for either cause by muddling the issues.

THE TINKHAM PROGRAM.

Just after the republican party has performed the phenomenal political feat of carrying six states the solid south into its presidential electoral column that party's majority in the house of congress slams all the southern states in the face with a census bill amendment to reduce southern representation in the house in proportion to the number of votes in each state who are not counted in the national election returns. It did not take long for the republican leaders of the house to reach the conclusion that the congressman is himself a dry but he comes from a wet part of Massachusetts. But this speech from which he quotes was delivered a year ago, and he must have given the benefit of the doubt insisting in season and out of season that if any amendments are to

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republican leaders concluded that it was best to march down again. But they did so most ungraciously, confessing that further support of the measure by the house majority would defeat the reapportionment measure. Not willing to risk that they left the Tinkham baby on the doorstep of its daddy.

The significance of the favorable vote of the republican majority on the Tinkham amendment cannot be overestimated, for it is a clear confession of the republican contention and those southern Hoovercrats and professed democrats who voted the republican electoral tickets in November last must be now nursing jaws as sore as if a mule had kicked them on their "anybody to beat" Smith" prognaths.

The Tinkham amendment was conceived with the intent to pe-nationalize the south through a false and untenable construction of the fourteenth amendment to the constitution.

Every sound constitutional lawyer knows that it would be a brutal fulmen—an offensive dead letter—in the census act, if kept in it. It would not reduce by one the representation of any state of the south, because Blaine, McKinley, Borah and the supreme court of the United States, to mention no others, are all on record that the fourteenth amendment is not violated by any limitations upon suffrage not based on race, color or sex.

It is not the actual effect of the Tinkham slam at the south, indorsed by a republican majority, that concerns the southern people. It is the gratuitous and mendacious meanness of the stigma upon them thus sought to be written into a law of the nation.

The demonstration has been offered in and out of congress, and is completely embodied in the Congressional Record many times, that there is not a state in the south whose constitution or laws contravene the terms of the fourteenth amendment and subject it to the penalties of that article of the national constitution. Tinkham and his republican colleagues know that as certainly as they know that Hoover is president, and the only motive they can have in approving his amendment to the census bill is to cast a false and odious reflection upon the south.

THE WHITE PRIMARY MUST GO.

The white or race, primary is the fiery cross that keeps the races apart fighting each other in separate camps. The white primary is the foreboder of political intolerance and race hatred, and fomenting racial antagonism.

The one thing that keeps the Negro solidly Republican under the most adverse circumstances, is the white primary, which seeks to array race against race. If this bugbear could be removed, the Race would divide on questions political and economic as the white people do.

But, the handwriting is written on the wall, and the judgment is, that the white primary must give way to the party primaries in which no man who professes the faith of the party he desires to align himself with cannot be shut out of his rights on the ground of color, race, or previous condition of servitude.

The Supreme Court of the United States has twice decided this question, and the doctrine is thoroughly established, that a political party cannot prescribe qualifications for voters prohibited by the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Judge Grover, of the Federal District Court, Richmond, Virginia, said: "The state may not provide otherwise than for equal right of suffrage in the primary as in the general election. This the statute does, and if this was all there would be no ground for complaint, but it goes further and recognizes and enforces the right of a political party to prescribe qualifications forbidden under the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This a state may not do."

The Atlanta Constitution, in discussing the Virginia case, said: "The decision seems constitutionally correct and in line with the decision of the supreme court in the case of Moseley, a Negro Democrat coming up from Texas."

Our contemporary further submits that the cases from Virginia and Texas fit the principle, that a state cannot fix a qualification for voters in it on the basis of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

In other words, if a Negro is a Democrat and comes up to the rules prescribed by the party, he cannot be denied his right to vote in the primary of his party on the grounds of race or color.

The white primary as conducted in the South is illegal and based on race and color, and has no standing in the law. The law provides for party primaries and not race primaries. A state cannot do in a primary election what the Fifteenth Amendment prohibits it from doing in a regular election.

Race hatred is an uncivilized monster stirring up dissension and strife among the peoples of the world. The people should not separate on political questions on the grounds of race, but upon the merits or demerits of the questions at issue.

Political parties are like churches under our scheme of government, and a man ought to be permitted to affiliate with the party of his choice, in the same sense that he join his church, without molestation from any source. The Federal Constitution sets up this right and no state has the right to interfere with his liberty, or right to serve God, or vote as his conscience dictates.

The Supreme Court has opened up the way for the Negro to divide his vote in the South as he does in the North. A better feeling will otherwise than for equal right of be engendered by the division.

President Harding advised it in his Birmingham speech, and Post-does, and if this was all there would master General Brown suggested be no ground for complaint, but it goes further and recognizes and enforces the right of a political party to prescribe qualifications forbidden under the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This a state may not do."

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Let us qualify here at home and walk into whatever party primary that appeals to us, and help to settle all political and economic problems.

There is no reason for a separation on the grounds of religion, race hatred, or color. Let us agree on questions of government policy. Two party government in the South largely depends upon the

attitude of the Negro. All he has to do is to assert his independence by voting for men and measures instead of parties and dogmas. The character and intelligence of the South is weary of religious bigotry, race hatred, and ku kluxism, and are asking for freedom of speech and action. Let us qualify at home, enter the party primaries and put an end to the little peaciding questions within the spirit of the Constitution instead of in the whims of public sentiment. The day of political freedom is in sight in spite of the Bleases and the Heflins, and let us prepare for the millenium.

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Political - 1928

Suffrage

TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILL.

MAR 19 1928

FOR THE ATTENTION OF SENATORS SWANSON, GLASS AND BORAH.

Attorney General Fred H. Davis of Florida has given an opinion that Florida law prohibits Negroes from voting in Democratic primaries and that any attempt on their part to participate in such elections must be stopped or punished by criminal prosecution. Mr. Davis responded to a report that there was a plan to register Negroes.

This exclusion theory contemplates a party as being a private club. Thus it has the right to choose its own membership and a state may recognize it as a restricted organization. The purpose is to disfranchise Negroes on account of race and color. In a final election they can be kept from voting any ticket by intimidation, poll taxes, intelligence tests or any device the whites choose to adopt. In the average southern community white disapproval of Negro voting is sufficient. It is as effective as a threat.

In any honest conception and administration of primary election law disqualification of a citizen wishing to affiliate with a party and vote in the nomination of its candidates is disfranchisement. In the Florida case it is denial of the right to vote on account of race and color, an abridgment written in law and enforced by the state.

As guarantees of franchise rights the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments apply to Liberia.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
Wednesday, March 28, 1928

Disfranchisement Penalties

Representative Tinkham, Massachusetts Republican, has recently renewed his perennial fight for reduction of the South's quota in the lower branch of Congress. A resolution drafted by him is now pending before the rules committee of the House which would direct the census committee to make an investigation of Negro disfranchisement, with a view to bringing about a proportionate reduction in Southern states under the penalty provision of the fourteenth amendment to the federal constitution.

"There is much more in the refusal of Congress to enforce the constitution than the law-

less and unconstitutional suppression of the Negro vote," said Mr. Tinkham. "There is involved the destruction of a just and equal balance of political power among all the states of the Union.

"Before the war of the rebellion representation in the Lower House of Congress and in the electoral college, which chooses the president and the membership of which is equal to the number of representatives and senators, was based upon the white population, plus 60 per cent of the Negro population. Automatically, with the freeing of the Negro, representation in the Lower House of Congress and in the electoral college was based upon the total white population and the total Negro population, because the constitution provides for representation based upon all free persons.

"The states of the South now count all the white population and all the Negro population as the basis for their representation and obtain in Congress and in the electoral college representation for both the white population and the Negro population, the latter of which they disfranchise.

"These states now have more political power than they had before the war, when they were allowed to count only 60 per cent of the colored population. In other words, they have annexed the entire political power of the Negroes, whereas before the Civil War they had only 60 per cent of it.

"As the Negro population is about one-third of the population of these states, each white person in these states has at least one-third more political power than each white person in the other states and in those states where the Negro population is largest at least double the political power.

"If the fourteenth amendment were not nullified, these states would have about one-third fewer representatives and about one-third fewer members in the electoral college than they have now, and would find it impossible to control the house of representatives and to elect the president, which they have done frequently."

Arthur Crawford, writing in The Chicago Tribune, is inclined to the opinion that Representative Tinkham underestimates the disproportionate political power of the Southern voter as compared with that of the Northern voter. He points out:

"The average population per representative in South Carolina under the 1920 census was 240,532, while the average population per representative in Illinois was 240,195, indicating on its face an equality of representation for the citizens of the two states.

"When the election figures are examined however, it develops that the number of votes

General.

actually cast in the last presidential election averaged 7,250 per representative in South Carolina, as compared with 91,483 per representative in Illinois.

"The average number of Illinois voters required to elect a representative in Congress was thus about twelve and one-half times as great as the number responsible for one vote in Congress from South Carolina."

In Georgia, according to Mr. Crawford's figures, the average number of voters per representative cast in the last presidential election was 13,881, while in Iowa, the average number of votes per representative was 88,814.

After each census, there is supposed to be a reapportionment of representation in the House, to keep such representation in constitutional accord with the population. This was not done after the 1920 census and there seems to be a strong sentiment in the House against the addition of more members, since the size of that body already makes it an unwieldy piece of legislative machinery. Consequently, there is a possibility that Mr. Tinkham's fight may come to nothing simply because of the disinclination of members of Congress to disturb the status quo. However, the sentiment in favor of a greater freedom of political expression among the Negroes of the United States, and especially in the South, is growing steadily. Representative Tinkham is the spokesman for the extremists, who would penalize the South for the situation outlined above.

There are other signs of the same sentiment, more moderately expressed but none the less determined. An Associated Press dispatch from Pensacola, Florida, carries the news that the Colored Voters League of that city intends to see that Negroes vote in the coming city primary and in the general elections. Only a few days ago a similar declaration came from Richmond, Virginia. There has been talk of a legal test of Macon's "white primary" law.

Historically, of course, the position of the South in this matter is much sounder than the position of Representative Tinkham, and there is no danger of his putting through any such measure as he advocates. On the other hand, the conditions which forced the South to protect itself with "white primaries" and "grandfather clauses" have vanished or are rapidly vanishing. The reasons why Negroes in Pensacola, Richmond and Macon should be allowed to vote, provided they can qualify under the regulations which apply to white persons, far outweigh the reasons why their votes should be suppressed.

Inertia, pure and simple, is now the chief obstacle barring the way to the complete en-

franchisement of the Negro. There is the inertia of thoughtless race prejudice, the inertia of the Negroes themselves toward the ballot and the inertia the American people have always shown toward repeal and revision of existing laws. In Macon, for instance, it will be necessary to have the wording of the laws under which the "white primary" is held changed before Negroes may vote in such elections. To accomplish this, the three kinds of inertia mentioned must be overcome and concerted action by a consider-

OREGONIAN
PORTLAND, ORE.

MAR 19 1928

LOSS OF FRANCHISE BY NEGRO STUDIED

Congress to Scan Further
Problem in South.

REPORT FOUND FAULTY

Number of Actual Voters to Each
Representative Puts Power
to Rule in "Dixie."

BY ARTHUR CRAWFORD.
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 18.-
(Special.)—Negro disfranchisement in
the south is due for a further airing
in congress.

Already the subject of heated de-
bates in both houses at this session,
the question threatens to bob up for
discussion in connection with pend-
ing congressional reapportionment
legislation.

Although the apportionment bill
approved by the house census com-
mittee seeks to even up the con-
gressional districts in respect to
population it fails to take into con-
sideration the number of persons who
are actually exercising the right of
franchise.

The average population to each
representative in South Carolina
under the 1920 census was 240,532
while the average population to each
representative in Illinois was 240,195,
indicating on its face an equality of
representation for the citizens of the
two states.

Startling Difference Seen.

When the election figures are ex-
amined, however, it develops that
the number of votes actually cast in
the last presidential election aver-
aged 7250 a representative in South
Carolina as compared with 91,483 a
representative in Illinois.

The average number of Illinois
voters required to elect a repre-
sentative in congress was thus about
12½ times as great as the number
responsible for one vote in congress
from South Carolina.

The figures indicate that only about
3 per cent of the men, women and
children, white and black, exercise
the right of franchise in South Caro-
lina as against nearly 40 per cent in
Illinois.

The records seem to bear out the
boast of Senator Blease, democrat,
South Carolina, that under the qual-
ifications prescribed for voters by

the constitution of South Carolina
negroes are kept from the polls.

Senator Blease Astonished.

"I think Mr. Coolidge received 1100
votes in my state," said Senator
Blease in defending negro disfran-
chisement in a speech in the senate.
"I do not know where he got them.
I was astonished to know that they
were cast and shocked to know that
they were counted."

The election figures indicate that
in South Carolina the white citizens
do a more effective job of keeping
the negroes from voting than any-
where else in the south. The voting
totals in all of the southern states,
however, are far below those in the
northern states.

Votes cast in Alabama in the last
presidential election averaged 13,499
a representative; in Georgia, 13,881;
in Mississippi, 14,057; in Louisiana,
15,253; in Arkansas, 19,796; in Vir-
ginia, 23,361; in Florida, 27,288; in
Texas, 36,528, and in North Carolina,
48,268.

97,394 Voters to One Man.

There is a wide discrepancy be-
tween these figures and the votes
cast in Illinois and adjacent middle-
western states. In Wisconsin the
votes cast averaged 76,428 a repre-
sentative; in Michigan, 88,360; in
Iowa, 88,814, and in Indiana, 97,394.

In Massachusetts the votes cast
for a representative averaged 70,718;
in New York, 75,905; in Ohio, 91,647,
and in California, which is to gain
several seats in congress under the
reapportionment bill, 116,525. The
votes cast in the last presidential
election throughout the country aver-
aged 66,709 per representative in con-
gress. North Carolina, the southern
state with the heaviest vote, thus
was 18,441 below the average while
South Carolina was 59,459 below the
average.

Representative Tinkham, repub-
lican, Massachusetts, who has a reso-
lution pending before the rules com-
mittee of the house directing the
census committee to make an inves-
tigation of negro disfranchisement
with a view to bringing about a pro-
portionate reduction of representation
of southern states under the penalty
provision of the 14th amendment to
the federal constitution, intends to
keep hammering away on the sub-
ject.

Just Balance of Power Lost.

"There is much more in the refusal
of congress to enforce the constitu-
tion than the lawless and unconsti-
tutional suppression of the negro
vote," said Mr. Tinkham. "There is
involved the destruction of a just
and equal balance of political power
among all the states of the union."

"The states of the south now count
all the white population and all the
negro population as the basis for
their representation and obtain in
congress and in the electoral college
representation for both the white
population and the negro population,
the latter of which they disfranchise."

"These states now have more po-
litical power than they had before the
civil war when they were allowed to
count only 60 per cent of the colored
population. In other words, they
have annexed the entire political
power of the negro, whereas before
the civil war they had only 60 per
cent of it."

"If the 14th amendment were not
nullified, these states would have
about one-third fewer representatives
and about one-third fewer members
in the electoral college than they

have now and would find it impos-
sible to control the house of repre-
sentatives and to elect the president,
which they have done frequently."

JOURNAL
FRANKFORT, KY.

MAR 7 1928



BALLOT RIGHT FOR NEGRO DISCUSSED

By GEORGE HOLDREN TINKHAM

U. S. Representative from Massachusetts.

(George Holden Tinkham was born in Boston, Mass., in 1870. He
was graduated from Harvard University in 1894, and then studied
law at the Harvard law school. Tinkham served as a member of the
Massachusetts senate from 1910 to 1912. He has been a member of
congress since its 64th session in 1915. Tinkham is connected with
a law firm in Boston, Mass.)

Nullification of the Fourteenth, Fif-
teenth and Nineteenth amendments
involves much more than the lawless
and unconstitutional suppression of
the Negro vote. The destruction
of a just and equal balance of
political power among all the
states of the union is threat-
ened.



GEO. H. TINKHAM

If the Four-
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trol the house of representatives and
to elect the president, which they
have done frequently.

If a presidential election should
turn upon the unconstitutional elec-
toral votes now based upon the un-
constitutionally elected representa-

tives, there well might follow a strug-
gle for the possession of the govern-
ment which would lead to revolution.
With the nullification of the Four-
teenth, Fifteenth and Nineteenth
amendments, not only are the elec-
tions in these states unconstitutional
and lawless, but the presidential elec-
tions are tainted with fraud and ille-
gitimacy.

There can be no more deadly as-
sassination of the principles that our
union is a union of equal states, and
that all American citizens are entitled
to the privileges and immunities and
are equal, than the fact that in cer-
tain states of the union one vote is
equivalent to one and one-third votes
in other states, made so in part by
craftily-drawn legislative enactments,
partisan administration of the elec-
tions, and by fraud.

The congress of the United States
has no moral right to ask the citi-
zens of the United States to obey
laws which it enacts when it has re-
fused to obey the plain commands of
the Constitution in relation to its own
elections and the election of the presi-
dent.

BROOKLYN EAGLE

APR 23 1928

NEGRO VOTES AND A QUESTIONNAIRE.

Sometimes the most delightful sort of a ques-
tionnaire is the one that is not expected to be
answered by those to whom it is addressed. Rep-
resentative Tinkham of Massachusetts, for ex-
ample, asks eleven aspirants to the Presidency
to define their position on the enforcement of
the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to
the United States Constitution. Most of these
candidates are very loud in insisting that the
Eighteenth Amendment must be enforced. Mr.
Tinkham, who has been a protagonist for anti-
lynching bills and who resents the practical nul-
lification of organic law provisions to protect the
voting rights of the negroes, knows politics fairly
well. He cannot expect frank responses to such
queries.

No Northern Democrat is going to say much
on this subject while the convention votes of
the Solid South are uncertain. No Southern
Democrat is anxious to discuss the matter. As
for the Republican candidates for nomination, to
say that these earlier amendments should be
enforced is to arraign their own party for fifty
years of neglect of a public duty, and to say
that they should not be enforced is to alienate
the negro vote in all the Northern States. Speech
is silver. Silence is golden. Q. E. D.

Nevertheless, as an exposition of general polit-
ical cowardice, the Tinkham questionnaire has a
certain value. Tinkham of Massachusetts is not
a coward, not a quibbler, he has always been
consistent with himself and with the sentiment
of the State of Wendell Phillips and Charles
Sumner. He has an "unalienable" right to ask
questions if he likes.

Political - 1928

Supra

CHARLESTON SOUTH CAROLINA

JAN 27 1928 Expounding a Settled Question

Although the old slander that the white South unlawfully suppresses the negro vote has had not much utterance in recent years, Senator Swanson, of Virginia, conferred a great and permanent benefit by his exhaustive argument last Monday proving that the Southern people do not violate the Fifteenth and the Fourteenth amendments. In this he was ably supported by his colleague, Senator Glass.

Mr. Swanson reviewed the whole question, presenting the historical background, and the decisions of the courts. His exposition will not be successfully assailed; no senator attempted to answer it, and two Republicans, Watson, of Indiana, and Borah, of Idaho, rose in their seats to testify that the Fifteenth amendment is obeyed in the Southern states. Mr. Borah went much further, saying that "in his opinion, the South is much more liberal to the negro economically and industrially than the North" is. There was a declaration to make the ghosts of Thad Stevens and Sumner hang their heads, if ghosts have the power to do that.

Senator Bruce, of Maryland, Southerner and of Southern loyalty above suspicion, was of opinion that the Southern states should be rather more liberal in political attitude to the negroes than they are (as to the "how" of this he was not quite clear in debate with Mr. Glass except in advising the encouragement of two parties in Southern states), and when he inquired of Mr. Swanson why "such a very small percentage of negroes vote in the South," that gentleman's reply was not as pointed and plain as it might have been.

The answer is that the negroes don't want to vote, won't vote, and never have voted unless coaxed, goaded, encouraged and directed by white people. In the South, in South Carolina for example, the white people long ago came together almost as one man in a racial party and that party tremendously outnumbers the negroes legally qualified to vote. This white party predetermines the results in the general elections by white primaries (by which they are pledged in

honor or by oath to support its nominees), and the negroes are not a people to carry on a hopeless contest through the years.

The negroes have not the perseverance of the Democratic saints of Vermont. Indeed, it is thinkable that a Southern white party maintaining the same attitude toward white minority groups (people of foreign birth or extraction as Italians or Slavs if they were here, or certain religious groups) might obliterate in them a habit of hopeless voting. Nothing of this kind will come to pass.

The exclusion thus practiced is obviously lawful—it has, in South Carolina, no other sanction than a "gentleman's agreement," it is unknown to the statute books, and of course there is not in the federal or other constitution an inhibition against Methodists, Greeks, federated golfers, prohibitionists, federated laborers, or other societies and sects forming an exclusive political party if they are so moved to do.

So the negroes left off voting, and that has worked to make next to impossible the creation of an earnest and decent Republican party. In the emptied Republican pots of the old state Republican organizations were some morsels to be eaten and savory grease to be licked up. Survivors from the gay days of Reconstruction have lingered, and their sons and grandsons hang around. A few negro politicians are at their beck. There is a living in it for them. The fewer the whole number, the better the lickings from the pots. Hence "Joe" Tolbert and his tatterdemalions—about 2,500 in South Carolina—just enough to hold caucuses in presidential election years, choose national delegates, and enjoy the offices. Here and there is a self-respecting white Republican, but he is not desired in the organization and he could not bring himself to submit to its manners. He stays out.

The Northern Republican party fosters these conditions. At this moment the usual procedure in rounding up the Southern delegations is going on—the preliminaries are, secretly, afoot. Half a dozen negro fellows who could unitedly not raise \$300 in cash will go to Kansas City with their white brethren and have the time of their lives—though to some of them it will not be a new experience.

General

NEWS

FEB 4 1928

BRUCE NOT FULLY QUOTED IN PRESS

Thinks Adoption of Fifteenth Amendment a Blunder Worse Than
A Crime

The News is in receipt of a letter from Senator Bruce, under date of February first, making reference to an article in our last issue, commenting upon the question of the enforcement of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Federal Constitution.

In our article we took occasion to admonish the distinguished Senator that looking to November next, by which we meant the result of his contest for re-election, he would do well to bear in mind that "Democrats in the counties of Maryland did not relish the spectacle of a Maryland United States Senator 'goaded' the Virginia Senators because of their method of dealing with the 15th Amendment to the Constitution."

In the Senator's letter to the News he says:

"In my debate with Senators Glass and Swanson I took occasion to say that the steps by which the South averted the tragic consequences that would have resulted from the full enforcement of those Constitutional Amendments, had met with my approval. Indeed, I went so far as to say that the adoption of the 15th Amendment was, in my judgment, one of those blunders which Talleyrand declared to be worse than a crime. If the 15th Amendment, instead of forbidding all discrimination against the Negro voters, had allowed the Southern States to discriminate against him, they would have been wise and just enough, in my opinion, to have accorded to him cautiously and gradually a degree of civic op-

portunity and freedom which the 14th and 15th Amendments have never brought him."

The Senator further states that in connection with the "agitation against National Prohibition" it is still his purpose not to "hesitate to use the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Federal Constitution as illustrations of the unenforceability of all constitutional or statutory provisions which are repugnant to Nature and the human reason," as he sees it.

The News is glad to be able to state to our readers the Senior Senator's position upon the subject which we were discussing, in our edition of January 28th, and particularly so, since we believe the Senator's position on that subject, as above outlined, makes quite clear a fact which the press reports coming to us, did not make clear; that in his debate with Senators Glass and Swanson he had taken the position that the steps "by which the South averted the tragic consequences that would have resulted from the full enforcement of the 14th and 15th Amendments, had met with his approval."

In other words, the News is very glad indeed to be able to say to our readers that the press reports as to the debate between the Maryland Senior Senator and Senators Glass and Swanson was unfair to Senator Bruce, in that they did put him in the position, as we stated in our last issue, of "goaded," those Senators "because of the methods of the Southern people in dealing with the 15th Amendment." Senator Bruce, in his letter to us, also informs us that while political conditions and party alignments in Baltimore City may be disturbed at present, they are not so disturbed as to affect the support which will come to him from Democratic leaders in that city from every element of the party.

Senator Bruce further states, that he is assured by Democratic leaders in every part of Maryland, that there is no organized opposition to his candidacy for renomination.

As to the unanimity of support which the Senator feels will come to him for renomination, the News is in no sense unhappy. As we stated in the article in our last

issue, we were not giving utterance to any word of opposition to Senator Bruce's candidacy for renomination or reelection to the Senate. We did express the hope that Senator Bruce might profit by our "thinking out

JAN 28 1928

From the Negro's Point of View

BY CHANDLER OWEN.

NULLIFICATION COMPROMISE.

Like Banquo's ghost, the nullification question bobs up ever and anon. Liquor and the Negro hold the stage, at least of notoriety, if not of popularity. Like slavery the subject of nullification will not down. Compromises may be resorted to and temporary armistices entered upon only to be finally discarded and discredited by the burning prophecy of that philosopher who declared, "Nothing is ever settled until it is settled right."

Senators Bruce of Maryland, Glass and Swanson of Virginia, and Borah of Idaho had quite an interesting tie-up on the nullification question a few days ago. Bruce condemned the eighteenth amendment, while Swanson and Glass denounced the fifteenth. An interesting phase of the discussion was that neither side made any strenuous defense of either amendment. Both said, in effect, why don't you plan to evade the amendment you dislike by keeping within the letter while violating the spirit of the law? Senator Borah attempted to be the impartial referee and as a friend of the senate court stated that he had examined all of the suffrage laws of the south and was satisfied that discrimination of the type expressly prohibited by the federal constitution did not exist.

Of course, any one who has made a thorough investigation must admit that there is discrimination by tricks of administration and also of the type expressly forbidden by the constitution. For instance, many southern states in requiring the voter to explain clauses in the constitution will ask the white voter, How long is the governor's term of office? The white voter will reply, Two or four years, as the case may be. When the Negro voter goes to the polls, the election judges will ask him, What is an ex post facto law? To which the average Negro will, in confusion, answer "I don't know, sir." Occasionally one will reply, as did the Alabama Negro a few years ago, "Yes, I know what that ex post facto law is; it's just another one of them schemes you white people have to keep up Negroes from voting." Senator Borah, along with the other members of the upper house, must have deliberately overlooked a decision by the United States Supreme court just a few months ago which annulled the Texas white pri-

mary law. Moreover, it has been only a few years since the Supreme court declared unconstitutional the grandfather laws of the southern states, the decision in this case being rendered by Chief Justice White of Louisiana. Not only that, my recollection is that the Supreme court decision in both the white primary law and the grandfather clause cases was unanimous, not even the southern judges attempting to defend the thinly veneered efforts to violate the constitution.

Representative George Tinkham of Massachusetts in a recent address at New York asserted that "this Negro disfranchisement is more of a fraud upon the whole country than it is upon the Negro." The truth of his statement can be seen by an examination of statistics prepared by Dr. Dubois showing the whites and Negroes of adult age who did not vote in 1920:

| | Negroes disfranchised. | Whites disfranchised. |
|----------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Virginia | 349,231 | 626,814 |
| North Carolina | 337,756 | 324,230 |
| South Carolina | 375,930 | 337,711 |
| Georgia | 569,330 | 708,560 |
| Florida | 179,008 | 208,208 |
| Alabama | 438,130 | 342,484 |
| Mississippi | 451,130 | 342,484 |
| Arkansas | 240,234 | 443,421 |
| Louisiana | 357,251 | 449,849 |
| Oklahoma | 71,331 | 463,852 |
| Texas | 374,478 | 1,615,770 |

Eventually the white voters, even of the south, will insist on law enforcement as a means of protecting themselves against disfranchisement.

for reading. They do not care to go out much. The boy goes to a basket-ball game once a week, and they all go to the movies once a week or every two weeks, provided the picture is approved at home. And they are happy, too.

MRS. E. J. KENEALY.

Chicago.

A NEW COMET.

NEWS
CHICAGO, ILL.

MAR 24 1928

IT NEGRO'S
POINT OF VIEW

CHANDLER OWEN.

Negro Disfranchisement.

Sometime ago the two old domin-

ion senators, Glass and Swanson, declared on the floor of the United States senate that Negroes were no longer disfranchised in their states. Senator Borah of Idaho, distinguished constitutional lawyer, corroborated their declaration by further stating that he found that "none of the southern states any longer engaged in the type of discrimination expressly forbidden by the constitution."

While these utterances were still fresh, The Daily News editorially called attention to the Texas white primary law which had within the last few months been declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme court, and I pointed out, at the same time, the Supreme court's unanimous decision a few years ago against the grandfather clauses. I emphasized that there was disfranchisement by tricks of administration and also the kind expressly forbidden by the constitution.

Confessions Confirm Charge.

Confirming my charge come confessions from Cole Blease of South Carolina and the attorney-general of Florida. Attorney-General Fred H. Davis of Florida a few days ago was informed that a plan was on foot to register Negroes for the democratic primaries. (In most southern states the primary vote is larger than the general election vote because nomination is tantamount to election. This was the reason for contesting the Texas white primary law.) Without equivocation the Florida attorney-general gave notice that "the Florida law prohibits Negroes from voting in democratic primaries and that any attempt on their part to participate in such elections must be stopped or punished by criminal prosecution."

Senator Cole Blease, who, like Tillman, has to be credited with frankness and nothing else, was defending Negro disfranchisement in the senate the other day. Among other things he said: "I think Mr. Coolidge received 1,100 votes in my state. I do not know where he got them. I was astonished to know that they were cast and shocked to know that they were counted."

While Blease meant to say he was astonished to know Negroes in South Carolina could have their votes cast, or counted after having been cast, he seems to have completely overlooked the possibility of 1,100 white voters in his state with sufficient intelligence to have a difference of political opinion. And here is what Congressman Tinkham calls a 'fraud on the whole country!'

Small Vote Cast.

The first South Carolina district has a population of 215,242, but at the last election cast a vote of only 5,531, the 2d cast 6,695, votes, the 3d 8,331, the 4th 7,718, the 5th 7,689, the 6th 6,278, and the 7th 7,249. A total

vote of 49,491 votes cast for seven sitting congressmen from South Carolina is 3,000 fewer votes than the Negroes cast in the 3d ward of Chicago for one alderman, the vote of the Chicago 3d ward being 52,000.

One vote in South Carolina is equal to 12 in Illinois. From this it is easy to see that the fraud of disfranchisement is an American problem, affecting the whole country even more than the Negro. How long the rest of the country will tolerate such nullification remains to be seen.

REGISTER
SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

MAR 14 1928

Timely Views

BALLOT RIGHT FOR NEGRO DISCUSSED

By George Holden Tinkham

U. S. Representative from Massachusetts

[George Holden Tinkham was born in Boston, Mass., in 1870. He was graduated from Harvard university in 1894, and then studied law at the Harvard law school. Tinkham served as a member of the Massachusetts senate from 1910 to 1912. He has been a member of congress since its 64th session in 1915. Tinkham is connected with a law firm in Boston, Mass.]

Nullification of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Nineteenth amendments involves much more than the lawless and unconstitutional suppression of the Negro vote. The destruction of a just and equal balance of political power among all the states of the union is threatened.



GEO. H. TINKHAM

If the Fourteenth amendment were not nullified, these states would have about one-third fewer representatives and about one-third fewer members in the electoral college than they have now, and would find it impossible to control the house of representatives and to elect the president, which they have done frequently.

If a presidential election should turn upon the unconstitutional electoral votes now based upon the unconstitutionally elected representatives, there well might follow a struggle for the possession of the government which would lead to revolution. With the nullification of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Nineteenth amendments, not only are the elections in these states unconstitutional and lawless, but the presidential elections are tainted with fraud and illegitimacy.

There can be no more deadly assassination of the principles that our union is a union of equal states, and that all American citizens are entitled to the privileges and immunities and are equal, than the fact that in certain states of the union one vote is equivalent to one and one-third votes in other states, made so in part by hastily-drawn legislative enactments, partisan administration of the elections, and by fraud.

congress of the United States has no moral right the citizens of the United States to obey laws it enacts when it has refused to obey the plain ends of the constitution in relation to its own election and the election of the president.

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General

Suffrage

REGISTER
WHEELING, W. VA.

JUN 8 1929

Noses Will be Counted

As between having the census bill passed and having it defeated because some of the southern negroes are alleged to be disfranchised, the former appears to us to be preferable. And for two reasons. In the first place ten years is quite long enough to let cities estimate the increase in their populations. We shudder to think how far from the truth some of the estimates would get, if no accurate enumeration of the population were made for twenty years. And in the second place it is better, as a matter of principle, to confine the discussion to the subject that you are supposed to be talking about. A census bill should be considered as such. If negroes are being disfranchised in the south, that should be taken up as a separate question.

And personally we have no doubt but that many negroes are being disfranchised. This charge is made regularly and so far as we know it is never contradicted. On the contrary the southerners defend their action. And it seems to us that this question of letting the negroes vote might as well be taken up and settled first as last. When you come right down to facts, the only reason why the negroes are not allowed to vote is because the southern Democrats believe that if the negroes were allowed to vote they would vote the wrong way. THE REGISTER has somewhat that same feeling about northern Republicans, both white and colored. A great many people in this neighborhood do vote the Republican ticket upon occasions when, as we sincerely believe, it would be better for all concerned if they voted the Democratic ticket. But THE REGISTER does not advocate the disfranchisement of Republicans, just because they do not vote the Democratic ticket. We are not in favor of disfranchising them either by a new constitutional amendment, nor in defiance of an existing constitutional amendment.

Attempts have been made to draw a parallel between disregarding the amendment that grants to all citizens the right to vote, and disregarding the prohibition amendment. It does not seem to us that the cases are parallel. Many criminal laws go into the discard. They are disregarded and so they become dead letters. We are not saying that this is the right way to deal with laws that are unpopular, or unjust, or unenforceable. But it is one way to

deal with them. And if, the law becomes a completely dead letter, at least no one class of citizens can complain. The law is not enforced against anybody. But in the case of the southern negroes the law providing that everybody shall have the right to vote is given effect as to white people, and is nullified as to negroes. That is quite a different matter.

Perhaps universal franchise is the wrong idea. Perhaps only the wealthy, or only the educated, or only the religious should be permitted to vote. But if so, let's fix our laws up that way and behave accordingly. We are far too willing in this country to say one thing and do the opposite.

POST-ENQUIRER
OAKLAND, CALIF.

JUN 8 1929

IN OLD, DRY VIRGINIA

Wet New York Will Be Amused

IN MANY southern states Negroes find their right to vote restricted by local laws and public opinion. Sometimes they are allowed to vote in general elections, but not in primary elections where the candidates are carefully hand picked.

The fourteenth amendment to the United States constitution says: "The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Federal Judge Groner of Virginia decides that his state has been violating flagrantly the fourteenth amendment.

You may be sure that decision required COURAGE.

TRIBUNE
CONCORD, N. C.
JUN 22 1929

DISENFRANCHISEMENT IN THE SOUTH

John Temple Graves in Orlando, Fla., Reporter-Star.

The New York World, in many respects the most able, and interesting of American newspapers, inveighed last week against the Southern Senators who voted for the exclusion of aliens in the Congressional reapportionment count, but were not willing to have disenfran-

chised Southern Negroes excluded also. The World charged that these Senators are willing to ride roughshod over the Constitution. "in their effort to preserve for a comparatively small number of white voters in the South representation in Congress out of all proportion to their number."

That the abstract logic of the Southern position in this respect has its flaw cannot be disputed. But there is, at least, a plea in abatement. The World overlooks two circumstances which, when the machinery of American politics is considered, may have given the Southern white man actually less of a voice in national politics and the Southern Negro actually more of a voice than their respective numerical strengths deserved.

The first circumstance is the system of apportioning delegates to National Democratic Conventions. Without regard to the wide variation in the proportion of Democrats in different States, each State is allowed twice the number of delegates that it has Representatives in Congress. This means that States like Pennsylvania, which never vote Democratic, have considerably more voice in Democratic convention than Southern States which nearly always vote Democratic. It means, in effect, that the Southern white man, whose ordinary political vehicle has been the Democratic party, has not been proportionately represented in the most vital decisions of that party.

The second circumstance is the therefore skeleton organization of the Republican Party in the South, an organization in many instances based on the votes of Southern Negroes. While the Republican Party has a fairer system of apportioning delegates to its National Conventions than the Democratic Party has, the Southern delegations in Republican Conventions nevertheless have had in the past a representation out of proportion to Republican strength in the South. This means they sometimes exercise an actual determining influence in the National Conventions of the Republican Party. And this party has been generally in office at Washington since the Civil War.

Since the political destinies of the Nation are determined fundamentally in the conventions of the two great parties, The World should ask itself whether the two circumstances named above do not offset whatever disenfranchisement of the Negro on general election day the South may be guilty of accomplishing. Or, to put it another way, whether the Southern white man's superior representation in Congress is not balanced by the Southern Negro's superior voice in the choice of a President of the United States.

The theory is one thing; the condition another. Theoretically the South has no leg to stand on in its disregard of the Fifteenth Amendment. Under actual conditions, however, without regard to the social problem the Negro represents, it is possible that the Southern Negro (or those who control him) has weighed more in strictly national politics than the Southern white.

THE REAPPORTIONMENT OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Three things stand out prominently as results to follow the passage of the bill to reapportion members of Congress upon the findings of the next census, but to leave the number of Congressmen as it is to-day, 345.

The agricultural sections of the South and West will lose some 23 members of Congress, while the congested section or city areas will gain an equal number.

From those changes will result changes in the number of delegates at the Republican and Democratic national conventions, their party platforms, their selection of candidates for the Presidency, and their power in the House of Representatives.

Following the taking of the Census, the population totals for the states will be divided by the number of members of Congress, and the basis of representation established. It will run close to some 300,000 people.

Each man and woman will become a smaller portion of the voting strength of the nation, but the disparity between those sections which dominated the legislation of the nation during and since the World War, will be remedied, and places where people now live will be represented in the lower House of Congress, as they ought.

That our people have migrated to the congested centers of the North and Middle West, will now redound to their benefit, provided they do their duty as citizens, register, and vote.

The final enactment of this law, following delay which served to increase lawlessness and disrespect for law, because Congress refused to obey a clear mandate of the Constitution which created it, will be to prove that our American institutions have in them corrective elements which assure our national success.

When an abuse becomes outrageous, public opinion operates to correct it; upon that assurance, our group bases its loyalty and sees its path.

THE METHODIST BOARD OF TEMPERANCE

SPEAKS

The Board of Temperance and Morals of the great Methodist Episcopal Church through its Secretary, Deet Pickett spoke a mouthful in a statement issued last week from its Washington headquarters. The headquarters is in the vicinity of the Capitol and charge has been made frequently by Senators and Representatives and very recently by Representative Tinkham of Massachusetts that the Board engages in lobbying.

The Board in its statement denies the charge of lobbying levelled at it by Mr. Tinkham; also it takes Mr. Tinkham to task because he believes that not only the Eighteenth Amendment should be enforced but the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments as well and he has endeavored to secure the passage of legislation to enforce the provision of the Fourteenth Amendment which directs that representation shall be reduced where the right is denied any male citizens 21 years of age and not disfranchised by reason of crime or rebellion.

This provision of the Constitution is mandatory and is just as much a part of the laws of the United States as the Prohibition Amendment and laws thereunder but it

has never been obeyed and the great Methodist Episcopal Church through its Board of Temperance and Morals is placed in the attitude of opposing law enforcement when the liberty of eight millions of American citizens is involved but intensely and ardently in favor of enforcing laws to prevent a man from taking a drink of liquor.

The statement declares that "the people of the North do not desire reduction of Southern representation."

That is apparently true; it is also true that the people of the North did not want Slavery abolished nor were they concerned in the matter of the spread of slavery or anything pertaining to it until the domination and arrogance of the slave holder in the government menaced their own liberties, and the competition of slave labor with free labor cut bread from the free laborer's mouth and threatened to destroy the labor system of the country.

When it is brought home to the voter of the North that one white voter in the disfranchising States has the power of five white voters in the non-disfranchising States he will rise up and demand that the Constitution be obeyed and Southern representation be reduced. And then, we do not doubt, the Methodist Board of Temperance will also favor it; it will not lead in the endeavor to create sentiment for justice and liberty but will follow of course, then try to grab the praise for its stand for justice and liberty.

The pronouncement of the Board also undertakes to speak for the Negro; listen to this insulting rot: "Certainly sensible Negroes, and the number grows, would not favor reduction of Southern representation. Mr. Tinkham it seems, considers that the Negro is disfranchised. As a remedy he proposes that he also be deprived of representation."

Dr. Clarence True Wilson and his Board of Temperance and Morals in his statement insults the entire Negro group of citizens. In his opinion the only Negroes who are sensible are those who do not favor reduction of Southern representation. It is the usual case of the white man who assays to speak for the Negro. In his unmeasurable presumption, it matters not how ignorant he is of the subject or conditions of which he speaks as far as the Negro is concerned, or how degraded he is or how simple, he regards himself as thoroughly competent to speak for the Negro, more competent than any member of the race to speak for himself and race, and speaks with a finality that arouses contempt in the mind of every intelligent Negro and resentment in his heart.

What does Dr. Clarence True Wilson and his Temperance and Morals Board think that Negroes want with such representation as is given them by men who denounce Negroes every opportunity that presents itself and who insults them on every occasion by referring to them as "Niggers" on the floor of the House and Senate?

istration of laws, is lynched, burned, jim crowed, murdered without fear of punishment by his murderers, in short the disfranchised group is made subject to the will and power of every individual of the enfranchised group led by the politicians of the blatant demagogue stripe whose representation Dr. Clarence True Wilson seems to think will be an affliction to the Negro.

Sensible Negroes want every right and privilege enjoyed by the members of all other races whether sensible or not and while quiescent in regard to those rights because of the unsympathetic attitude of the leaders of public opinion in America, they are ready and hold themselves in leash to fight for those rights when there is the slightest indication of a chance to win.

Overlapping all rights is that of the franchise because its possession carries with it power which is a certain guarantee of protection to life and liberty. Without it any group recognizable by the mark of color or otherwise placed outside the pale of protection, is oppressed by a double standard of laws and a double standard of admin-

It would be infinitely better for Dr. Wilson and his Temperance and Morals Board to leave out the Negro in their discussions except as the discussion might relate to temperance or morals. In the realms of politics the Board is not authorized and cannot speak acceptably for the Negro.

Political-1924

6-12-24
Suffrage

Congress Census Battle Centers Around Disfranchisement of Negroes and Aliens

House of Representatives Had Defied Constitution Since 1911; New York Loses One Delegate; Workers Begin Count in 1930

Amsterdam News
WASHINGTON, June 10.—Representatives of the major sections of the United States engaged in a dramatic struggle last week in Congress as the census and apportionment bill was passed with the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments constantly flaring up as the major issues. The patronage system. They will work from four to six weeks and receive a minimum of \$7 a day. Information to be gathered will include religious affiliations, incomes, answers to questions for material need in framing the immigration laws, tabulation of unemployment, veterans of all wars, and possibly racial descent.

When the bill was passed Thursday, an amendment by Congressman Tinkham of Massachusetts, providing for reducing the count for apportionment in the states where Negroes are disfranchised, was dropped. Another by Representative Hoch of Kansas, in which aliens would not be listed for redistribution of House members, was also left in the discard.

Both amendments had been passed tentatively by the House following the Senate's approval of the census bill the week before. This was the first reapportionment bill passed since 1911, Congress having defied the mandate of the Constitution when the 1920 census bill was voted. Reapportionment is necessary to maintain an equality of representation between the faster and slower growing states. It was agreed in 1911 that the House should have 435 members; and reduction of some states' delegates and increase of others was to be decided upon periodically.

Losses estimated are:

| | | | |
|---------------------|---|--------------------|----|
| Alabama | 1 | Nebraska | 1 |
| Indiana | 2 | New York | 1 |
| Iowa | 2 | North Dakota | 1 |
| Kansas | 1 | Pennsylvania | 1 |
| Kentucky | 2 | Tennessee | 1 |
| Louisiana | 1 | Vermont | 1 |
| Maine | 1 | Virginia | 1 |
| Massachusetts | 1 | | |
| Mississippi | 2 | Total | 23 |
| Missouri | 3 | | |

Gains in representation were made by the following states:

| | | | |
|----------------------|---|------------------|----|
| Arizona | 1 | Ohio | 3 |
| California | 6 | Oklahoma | 1 |
| Connecticut | 1 | Texas | 2 |
| Florida | 1 | Washington | 1 |
| Michigan | 4 | | |
| New Jersey | 2 | Total | 23 |
| North Carolina | 1 | | |

There will also be some shifts in the Electoral College after the 1930 census is taken. The census workers will again be appointed through

the basis of representation all actual citizens, native and naturalized, who could vote, but do not for reasons sufficient to themselves. Our constitutional provisions affecting the elective franchise and our statutes governing the qualifications and registration of voters differ in no essentials from those of other states, such as Congressman Tinkham's own Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine, Rhode Island, Ohio, California and Oregon, as instances.

However, that phase of the Tinkham hymn of hate of the south is passed and it will be a long time ahead, doubtless, before another congress will give ear to his catalin an caterwaulings.

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TINKHAM'S GHOST-DANCE.
A polite note from Congressman Tinkham, of Boston, covers the special enclosure to us of one of his speeches on the "nullification of the fourteenth, fifteenth and nineteenth amendments," with the request that we should read it. Inter alia, it contains the following passages:

Constitution
The reading of his labored and documented speech does not, however, disclose to us any reason for his persistent attempts to brand and pillory the southern people by a federal statutory inference that they are defying the constitution of their country. In fact, the very content of his speech carries the argument that the letter and terms of the constitution, as amended, are being store the palpitations of its heart complied with by the southern states as meticulously as they are observed by any other of the states of the union.

The fourteenth amendment is no novelty. It has been the subject of more consideration and decisions by the federal supreme court than, perhaps, all the other articles of the constitution together. Especially has the section of the amendment relating to "the right to vote at any election" been subjected to the closest analysis and adjudication by the ultimate court. The southern states have taken careful note of those decisions and are complying with them in every iota.

There can be found in no southern state any denial or abridgement of "the right to vote" on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, or of sex, in spite of all that Congressman Tinkham imagines. Our constitutional provisions affecting the elective franchise and our statutes governing the qualifications and registration of voters differ in no essentials from those of other states, such as Congressman Tinkham's own Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine, Rhode Island, Ohio, California and Oregon, as instances.

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Have Hoover Force South to Enforce 14th and 15th

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 9. — (Special.) — Representative George Holden Tinkham (Rep., Mass.) today renewed his campaign to have President Hoover include the 14th and 15th amendments in his law enforcement program.

In a letter to Attorney General William D. Mitchell, Mr. Tinkham asserts that it is the duty of President Hoover to recommend passage of legislation for enforcing these amendments, now nullified by the southern states. The fact that enforcement laws are not on the statute books does not excuse a President from enforcement of any particular amendments as long as the amendment exists, Representative Tinkham asserts.

Calling attention to Mr. Hoover's recent utterances in behalf of law enforcement, Mr. Tinkham asserted that the President must work for enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments if he is to be consistent.

Notoriously Nullified

"The 14th and 15th amendments are notoriously nullified in many states of the Union," Mr. Tinkham said, "and if the President of the United States does not recommend their enforcement to the congress, and, further, refuses to refer the question of their enforcement to his proposed national investigating committee, he is electing what parts of the constitution shall be enforced and what parts shall not be enforced. He is a party to the destruction of the integrity of the constitution."

By his example he is bringing about the thing against which he protested in his inaugural address when he said:

"Our whole system of self-government will crumble either if officials elect what laws they will enforce or citizens elect what laws they will support. The worst evil of disregard for some law is that it destroys respect for all law."

Acknowledges Letter

"Your communication of April 17 was duly received," Mr. Tinkham writes, referring to a letter received from Attorney General Mitchell acknowledging the receipt of a previous appeal for presidential enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments.

"The irresistible conclusion to be drawn from it would seem to be that because congress has passed no law to enforce either the 14th or the 15th amendment of the constitution, the President is under no constitutional obligation to address himself to their enforcement; that the constitutional duty of the President is

LET ALL DIXIE VOTE
5/11/29
Pittsburgh Courier
Representative from Washington Renews Efforts to

to enforce such laws as congress may pass.

"The constitutional duty of the President is plainly much greater than this.

Quotes Constitution

"Allow me to draw to your attention:

"1. Section 8 of article 2 of the constitution, which provides that the President must take an oath that he will 'to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States.'

"2. Section 3 of article 2, which provides:

"(He, the President) shall from time to time give to the congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient."

"3. The statement of the President in his inaugural address:

"It appears to me that the more important further mandates from the recent election were the maintenance of the integrity of the constitution."

NEW YORK AMERICAN

JUN 5 1929

Census Bill Plan Would Cost N. Y. 4 Seats in House

Amendment Voted Barring
Aliens as Basis of Ap-
portionment.

By ARTHUR HACHTEN,
Universal Service.

WASHINGTON, June 4.—Amic cat-calls and shouts of "police," the House today ripped the Senate's reapportionment-census bill to shreds through adoption of several far-reaching amendments.

Aiming at the alleged disfranchisement of negroes in the South, the House adopted an amendment by Representative Tinkham (R.), of Massachusetts, providing that citizens whose right to vote has been denied unconstitutionally shall not be counted in determining the number of seats in the House which their States receive.

After the vote of 142 to 188 had been announced, cheers went up from the Republican side, a dozen Republicans rushing forward to congratulate Tinkham, while the Southern Democrats sat silently.

Protests had been made by Democrats from Dixie that negroes are not disfranchised in their States.

WOULD EXCLUDE ALIENS.

An amendment by Representative Hock (R.), of Kansas, excluding aliens in the tabulations on which seats are apportioned was adopted

after a bitter fight, 165 to 124.

Such an amendment, offered by Senator Sackett, Republican, of Kentucky, was rejected by the Senate.

Should the Hoch amendment remain in the bill, New York will lose probably four seats in the House because of the large alien population there. Massachusetts and other States, having large alien populations likewise, would be penalized.

A coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans from the rural sections joined in jamming through the anti-alien amendment despite protests that it is unconstitutional.

Another amendment striking a blow against aliens was adopted, when the House accepted a motion by Representative Bankhead, Democrat, of Alabama providing that the census enumerators obtain their names and addresses, together with a statement from each explaining by what authority he or she is in this country. The bill, however, provides that such information shall not be used for other than statistical purposes.

On motion of Representative Lehlbach, (Rep.) of New Jersey, the House knocked out the Wagner amendment providing that census employes be subject to Civil Service. Lehlbach declared it would be impossible and impractical to put 100,000 census-takers through the Civil Service, when they are required for the most part to work only two weeks.

Democrats shouted the amendment means the Republican members will be able to distribute the census jobs in patronage.

The Drys defeated an amendment by Representative Schafer (Rep.), of Wisconsin, directing the census-takers to count all persons for and against modification of the Volstead act to permit manufacture and sale of light wines and beer. The vote was 136 to 42.

Again the House bowled over a provision in the Senate bill, by providing that the census be taken beginning May 1, 1930, instead of November 1, 1929.

On motion by Representative Dickinson (R.), of Iowa, the House struck out directions that unemployed be included. The vote was 10 to 57.

Provisions for a count of radio sets also were thrown out.

Many of these amendments may be upset in the House on final roll calls on the bill.

MEASURE LEAVES ALL NON-VOTERS OUT OF CENSUS

Tinkham Slips Bill Past
House After Similar
Provision Is Beaten by
Democrats.

TO VOTE AGAIN
TODAY ON BILL

Would Not Count Per-
sons Barred From Bal-
lot by State Franchise
Laws in South

BY W. B. RAGSDALE,
Associated Press Staff Writer.

Washington, June 4.—(AP)—After tentatively accepting amendments which would exclude from the count upon which House reapportionment is to be based aliens and persons over 21 who are not permitted to vote, the house adjourned late today without taking a final vote on the census reapportionment bill.

Both of the amendments were opposed vigorously in debate and both are subject to another vote in the house before they are finally written into the measure. The alien proposal would affect the number of representatives allotted to eastern and industrial states and the second proposal was considered as aimed at southern states in which it has been contended that many negroes are not permitted to vote.

Exclusion of aliens originated with the middle western republicans, who have argued that if aliens were barred from the count a reapportionment would have less effect upon the reduction of representation from their states. It was opposed by members from eastern and industrial states on the ground that such an amendment was unconstitutional.

Not Consider Aliens.

In the form in which it was approved by the house, the amendment of Representative Hoch, republican Kansas, would provide that aliens should not be considered in the count but that if any section of the measure should be declared unconstitutional, the validity of the remainder of

the act should not be affected.

Previously the house had approved an amendment by Representative Bankhead, democrat, Alabama, calling for a count of the number of aliens in the country with a statement of whether they were in the United States legally.

The amendment relating to disfranchisement was offered by Representative Tinkham, republican, Massachusetts, long a contender that the fourteenth amendment was not being enforced. One similar to it had been defeated previously. Some of the members have contended that the effect of the amendment would be to make large reductions in the number of representatives allotted to southern states.

The Tinkham amendment proposed to exclude from the count upon which reapportionment is based "inhabitants in each state being 21 years of age and citizens of the United States, whose right to vote at an election for the choice of electors for president and vice president of the United States, representatives in congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state or the members of the legislature thereof has been denied or abridged except for rebellion or other crime."

Both of the proposals were approved by close votes and some of the leaders predicted that the house probably would reconsider the votes by which they were agreed upon. The vote upon the Hoch amendment was 165 to 124 and that upon the Tinkham proposal was 145 to 118.

Among various other changes made in the bill was one which would eliminate the enumeration of those unemployed and of number of radio sets.

Another would fix the time for making the count at May, 1930, instead of November, 1929. Still another would make the census-takers exempt from civil service regulations.

Violates Constitution.

Preceding the adoption of the Tinkham charge, the Massachusetts member contended that unless the provision was incorporated in the bill the measure would be in violation of the constitution.

As the vote was taken the southern democrats, joined by a sprinkling of middle western republicans and a few eastern republicans, passed between the tellers to oppose the proposal. Most of the republicans and a group of eastern democrats supported the amendment.

The announcement of the result threw the house in an uproar. Fox-hunting yells arose from the republican side of the chamber and Representative LaGuardia, republican, New York, who had supported the proposal, raced across the well in front of the speaker's rostrum to shake hands with the smiling Tinkham.

When the proposal was offered earlier in the day, Tinkham declared that if it were not adopted "this house will be a house of hypocrites" by pretending to obey the constitution in one form and violating it in another.

Representative Rankin, democrat, Mississippi, opposed the proposal in a brief talk in which he said that Senator Borah, republican, Idaho, some time ago had said that he found no violation of the constitution by the southern states.

Little Debate on Floor

Representative Schafer, republican, Wisconsin, arguing in favor of the amendment, cited figures which he said showed wide differences between the number of voters in various congressional districts in southern states and those who voted in various of the northern states.

There was little debate on the proposal at that time, however, and the democrats were able to amass enough votes to defeat the amendment by a small majority. When it was presented again in different form later in the day, there was no debate and Tinkham contented himself with making a brief statement to the effect that it was designed to make the bill conform to the constitution.

Rankin said at the end of the day's session that he would demand a separate vote on the amendment tomorrow when the measure is taken up again. At that time a roll call can be had upon the proposal.

The prohibition issue also was injected into the census discussion by Schafer, who proposed an amendment which would require the census takers to register the preference of persons over 21 years of age on the question of modification of the prohibition act. The proposal was defeated by a wide margin.

NEW YORK EVE POST

JUN 7 1929
COURAGE WINS

The country should be glad that the Republican leadership in the House had the courage to risk a test on the Hoch amendment, aimed at Negroes, and the Tinkham amendment, aimed at aliens. Had they remained in the reapportionment bill they might have stirred sectional feeling all over the United States. Or they might have forced a veto for this shamefully and illegally delayed legislation.

"That 'strong-arm' methods were used is the cry of some of the Southern Democrats who were seeking to cut down the Congressional and electoral representation of the Wet East. To us the methods look more like parliamentary adroitness than steam-roller roughness. But whatever they were, they saved the United States from facing a peculiarly ugly threat to its own unity and happiness.

In this case the end amply justified the means. Messrs. Longworth and Tilson are to be congratulated upon daring to force the issue. Courage won

Political - 1729

Supperage

TINKHAM DEMANDS HOOVER ENFORCE FRANCHISE LAWS

Washington, April 7. (AP)—Calling attention to the lack of laws to enforce the 14th and 15th amendments, Representative Tinkham, Republican, Massachusetts, has demanded that President Hoover direct the enforcement of them along with the 18th to his committee investigating prohibition yet to be made. The committee is to congress the passage of laws to enforce them.

NEW YORK HERALD

JUN 5 1929

House Excludes Alien Figures in Reapportioning

Southern-Western Coalition Amends Measure Up for the Final Voting Today

From the Herald Tribune Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 4.—Exclusion of aliens and illegally disenfranchised citizens from the count on which Congressional representation is based was voted today by the House of Representatives in two amendments to the census and reapportionment bill. This was taken as a deliberate blow to large cities, mainly New York with its thousands of foreigners and to the South with its Negroes.

The final test on whether the measure will stand in the House as it was amended will come tomorrow on the roll call vote for its passage. Should it be accepted the bill will go to conference, where it is probable that the anti-alien and anti-Southern amendments will meet considerable opposition and possible extinction.

Other changes in the bill, coming as fast as time permitted, left it almost unrecognizable when the six-and-a-half-hour session was ended by Republican over strenuous objection from the Democratic side. It was, in fact, a field day for Democrats, who, joined by Middle Western Republicans, managed to strike deep with thrust after thrust at the effectiveness of the legislation.

Never, according to some of the House leaders, has there been similar tumult in connection with action on such important legislation as the census and reapportionment bill. Speakers were

forced to quit the floor on occasions; twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States whose right to vote at an election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the Legislature thereof, has been denied or abridged except for rebellion or other crime."

The anti-alien amendment, offered by Representatives Homer Hoch, of Kansas, and Lloyd Thurston, of Iowa, both Republicans, was forced through by a vote of 183 to 123. A coalition of Republicans from states which will lose seats in the House under the reapportionment and Southern Democrats was formed to effect the success of the measure. Tammany Hall Democrats and others from the Eastern centers of population joined with the remainder of the Republicans, but fell short.

There was much cheering and loud applause on the Democratic side at the victory against aliens, but it was short-lived.

After considerable bantering over a number of unimportant amendments, Representative George Holden Tinkham, Republican, of Massachusetts, offered an amendment which, in effect, prevents the counting of Negroes, deprived of their vote, for Congressional representation. This would tremendously reduce the number of members from the Southern states.

On a standing vote, Mr. Tinkham's amendment, though aided by Republicans and Tammany Democrats, was lost, but he demanded a teller vote. The result as announced from the chair was 145 to 118, and the cheering that had belonged to the South now belonged to the Republican and Democratic Easterners.

The action on the alien and Negro amendments occupied the sharpest skirmishes of the day, but neither will be final until the vote tomorrow. It is possible that the House leadership will demand separate votes on these and other amendments and may have mustered enough votes to reject them.

Mr. Hoch argued that the anti-alien amendment gave to "Americans the representation that rightfully belonged to them."

In support of the constitutionality of excluding aliens, Mr. Hoch cited the opinion of Representative Henry St. George Tucker, Democrat, of Virginia. However, Mr. Hoch stated, he inserted into the amendment a sentence saying that if the anti-alien clause should be held unconstitutional, it would not affect the validity of the act itself.

As the cries for a vote came, words of the opposition were lost. Representative F. H. La Guardia, Republican; John J. Boylan, Democrat, and John O'Connor, Democrat, all of New York, objected to the amendment.

Threatens to Report Disturbers

It was with like suddenness that other amendments were presented, debated for a few minutes and passed or voted down. Most of the day was lost in the pounding of the gavel. Once Representative Carl Chindblom, Republican, of Illinois, who occupied the chair, threatened to report the indecorous conduct to Speaker Nicholas Longworth.

There was only sniping debate on the Tinkham amendment.

The amendment would make the law, if it is finally approved, exclude from population to be represented in Congress "Indians not paying taxes, and inhabitants in each state being

Would Cost South Many Seats

A quick diagnosis of Mr. Tinkham's amendment showed that the South would lose from three to five seats in nearly every state if it is kept in the bill.

Upon at least one Democratic proposal the Republican opposition was victorious. Representative John E. Rankin, Democrat, of Mississippi, who led the minority onslaughts against the bill, offered an amendment which would give Congress the duty of actually reapportioning its seats instead of delegating it to the Secretary of Commerce and census authorities as the bill proposed. "This plan was lost 157 to 148."

The first amendment offered to the bill was by Representative William B. Bankhead, Democrat, of Alabama, which would require that census enumerators take brief statements from all aliens as to their right to be in the country. It was passed, 165 to 115.

Representative Earl C. Michener, Republican, of Michigan, and Majority Floor Leader John Q. Tilson, of Connecticut, joined with Easterners in opposing the bill. Mr. Tilson stated that the information, after it was obtained at great sacrifice to the efficiency of the census enumerators, would be "worse than useless."

Wants Needy Aged Counted

Two amendments to determine the number of needy aged in this country, in leading up to relief legislation, were offered, one by Representative Hamilton Fish Jr., Republican, of New York, and the other by Representative Phil D. Swing, Republican, of California. Both failed after the authors of the amendments had declared that it was the most appropriate time to obtain this information. Mr. Fish declared that "nearly every civilized country in the world is taking care of its aged and needy. Why can't we?"

Under an amendment by Mr. Rankin, which was adopted, the date of the proposed census was changed from November 1929, to May 1930.

Prohibition cropped out early in the debate after Representative John C. Schafer, Republican, of Wisconsin, offered an amendment which would require census enumerators to ask each person over twenty-one years of age whether they favored modification of the Volstead law. Drys immediately made a point of order, but were overruled.

Plan Defeated 136 to 42

Mr. Schafer then arose to argue for his amendment. "This damnable prohibition," he said, "must be made to face the music now or later. If drys must be against this amendment, I ask them why? If this country is dry, then such a poll would show it." The modification idea, challenged as an unauthorized referendum, was beaten 136 to 42.

General.

Next came an amendment by Representative L. J. Dickinson, Republican, of Iowa, which would strike out the bill's provision for a census of unemployment. He declared it would serve no purpose in that any such condition was ever-shifting and essentially temporary. It was adopted by a vote of 104 to 57.

The outstanding evidence of unity came on the amendment put in by the Senate on the motion of Senator Robert F. Wagner, Democrat, of New York. It was beaten on a viva voce vote. The Wagner amendment would have put the 100,000 census enumerators under civil service regulations, thus depriving the House members of this great patronage.

Many amendments were adopted to change the technical language of the bill, but the House finally got down to the last line when Mr. Tilson moved for adjournment. He at first asked if the Democrats would co-operate in this, but they refused. He then asked for a vote, and it was carried.

DIXIE SOLONS STILL UPHOLD VOTE FRAUD

Census Bill Will Not Aid Disfranchised

[CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE]

Washington, D. C., June 14.—The house of representatives by the adoption of the Tilson amendment Thursday afternoon dropped both the Tinkham amendment to the census-reapportionment bill, which would penalize by disfranchisement of our voters in the South by excluding all denied the right to vote from the count on which seats in the house will be reapportioned, and the Hoch alien amendment, which omitted aliens from the count, threatening substantial reduction in the representation of eastern industrial states.

Upsets House

The Tilson amendment, presented by Floor Leader John G. Tilson, Republican, of Connecticut, straightened out one of the most embarrassing tangles that has existed in legislative circles for some time. It simply restated the essential provisions of section 2 of the constitution, which the amendments had been added, omit-

ting both of the amendments which had been adopted by the house in the committee of the whole Tuesday, and which were causing no end of a stir all over the country.

The presentation of the amendment started a spirited fight, during which points of order were raised frequently by members of both parties who objected to the "strong-arm" methods of the party leaders.

As Mr. Wingo, Democrat, of Arkansas, in objecting, said, "Some gentlemen are in a 'h— of a fix,' but that does not mean that you have the right to override parliamentary law in order to pull them out of a hole." The measure passed by a vote of 212 to 102.

The bill with the Tilson amendment went to the conference committee Saturday and an early adjustment of the differences between the house and senate is expected as the reamended bill of the house, which eliminates the drastic amendments, presents few major differences from the senate version.

The passage of the Tinkham amendment Tuesday completely electrified Washington. It was the unexpected culmination of a 14-year fight on the part of Representative Tinkham, Republican, of Massachusetts, in behalf of enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution.

Exclude Aliens

The opportunity for its favorable consideration presented itself after the southern Democrats had succeeded in passing a measure by a vote of 157 to 148 which would exclude aliens from the count upon which seats will be reapportioned after the 15th and subsequent censuses.

The passage of the amendment, put through while the southerners were crowing over their victory, which would reduce eastern representation, came as a surprise even to Tinkham himself, who had contended that the census reapportionment bill would be unconstitutional unless his proposal was adopted.

The Tinkham amendment passed by a vote of 145 to 118, and the tables were turned on the southerners.

House leaders of both parties held feverish conferences for two days in an effort to right matters, which were terribly upset by its passage. The house met and adjourned Wednesday, as they had been able to arrive at no satisfactory solution.

Republican leaders were excited because they felt that the Tinkham amendment would undo at one swoop all that the party has achieved in the way of breaking into the solid South.

The Democratic leaders likewise were aroused because they felt that the power of Tammany hall and the party strength in large northern and eastern industrial communities would be weakened by the alien amendment and the strength of the South by the elimination of disfranchised voters. They felt that a wider breach had developed between the North and South.

Telegrams were sent to the 24 Illinois members of the house of representatives by Dr. Herbert A. Turner, president of the Chicago branch of the N. A. A. C. P. urging the solons to support and fight for the passage of the Tinkham amendment to the census reapportionment bill. Replies

pledging their support to the measure were received from Representatives Ruth Hanna McCormick, James T. Igoe, Elliott W. Proul, A. J. Sabath and Carl R. Chindblom. Congressman Oscar De Priest was absent from the house when the Tinkham amendment came up for consideration, being in Chicago on important political matters, after a speaking tour through the South. No replies were received from the following members of the Illinois delegation in the house: Charles Adkins, W. W. Arnold, J. C. Allen, Fred A. Britten, J. T. Buckbee, D. E. Denison, T. A. Doyle, H. W. Hall, W. P. Holaday, M. D. Hull, E. M. Hull, E. M. Irwin, M. A. Michaelson, H. T. Rainey, F. M. Ramey, F. R. Reid, T. S. Williams and Richard Yates.

NEW YORK TIMES

JUN 5 1929

HOUSE BARS ALIENS IN REAPPORTIONING

Also Votes to Exclude Negroes
Disfranchised After Debate
Marked by Disorder.

PARTY LINES ARE BROKEN

Leaders Hope Both Amendments
Will Be Defeated at Final Action
on Them Today.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 4.—Partisan feeling ran high in the House today as that body incorporated amendments in the pending census-reapportionment bill which would exclude aliens, and also negroes, whose right to vote has been denied or abridged in the South, from being counted in determining the numerical representation of each of the States in the lower branch of Congress.

The proposal designed to deny unnaturalized foreigners the right of being counted in fixing representation in the House was jockeyed through by a coalition of Southern Democrats and Corn Belt Republicans.

The one seeking to counteract the effect of Southern statutes alleged to be in contravention of the spirit of the Fourteenth Amendment was carried mainly by Republicans, supported by the Tammany group who jumped their party reservation out of a resentment provoked by the action of Southern leaders in lending support to the anti-alien amendment.

Political lines were broken in today's skirmish over the census-reapportionment bill, and the chamber was in an uproar from start to finish. The majority did not respond to the lash of the organization, and

accordingly the two amendments, both of which are loaded with political dynamite, were fastened to the pending measure.

May Yet Be Defeated.

Today's action on the two proposals is not final. They will come up for formal votes tomorrow, and hope is expressed by party leaders that they will be beaten on roll-calls.

Should the bill finally pass the House freighted with the amendment relating to aliens and that reducing the representation of the Southern States that are charged with abridging the voting rights of negroes, the effect would be to delay action on reapportionment and possibly lead to the death of the measure in conference. House leaders do not believe that the Senate would accept either amendment and are satisfied that the one involving the Fourteenth Amendment would meet the stern opposition of Southern Senators.

Rarely has the House chamber presented such a scene of wild confusion as marked today's proceedings. Time and again Mr. Chindblom of Illinois, in the chair, was obliged to rap for order, and once he voiced a warning that unless the House subsided he would suspend the sitting and report the facts to the Speaker.

Finally, Representative Tilson of Connecticut, the Republican leader, observing that the temper of members was reaching a boiling point, suggested a little before 6 o'clock that it might be well for the House to knock off work for the day and return to the job refreshed in the morning.

There were shouts of "No, no; let us finish it now," on both sides of the Chamber, but on motion of Mr. Tilson the House, dividing on partisan lines, voted, 177 to 122, to adjourn.

In today's battle the House riddled the Senate census-reapportionment bill from top to bottom. It struck from the bill the Senate amendment offered by Senator Wagner of New York, providing for the appointment of the 1930 census force upon certification of the Civil Service Commission. The date of the taking of the census fixed by the Senate as Nov. 1, 1929, was postponed until May 1, 1930. It eliminated the Senate sections calling for unemployment and radio sets to be enumerated by the Census Bureau.

It rejected an amendment offered by Representative Schafer of Wisconsin, providing that in enumerating the population in 1930 census agents should ask each person approached whether he or she favored or opposed prohibition.

There was a sharp fight over the amendment requiring the director of the census to "cause to be registered the names and addresses of all aliens" and to require every alien so registered to declare whether he or she was in the United States in violation of law. This amendment was presented by Mr. Bankhead, Democrat, of Alabama.

Mr. Bankhead declared that the inclusion of aliens in reapportionment figures was contrary to the "genius and spirit of the Constitution." Congress, he insisted, should not, in reapportioning representation in the House, take account of people who had entered the country illegally and who do not think enough of the protection accorded by the government to become American citizens.

Mr. Tilson interrupted to ask

whether the Alabamian had taken into account the large additional amount of work his amendment would entail. Mr. Bankhead replied that he had not, but that it was worth the work and a large appropriation.

Calls It Immigration Question.

Mr. Tilson insisted that Mr. Bankhead's proposition related to immigration, and that it should be taken up in connection with a measure dealing with that subject.

"This is the most ingenious method invented so far to defeat the bill," declared Mr. LaGuardia of New York, Republican.

"If this amendment were adopted it would mean that every census enumerator would be constituted a court of inquiry to determine whether an alien was lawfully in the United States. If any alien says that he is lawfully here what are you going to do about it?"

Mr. O'Connor, Democrat, of New York, said that the spirit behind the Bankhead amendment was "narrow." "It is a wonder to me," he remarked, "that any self-respecting alien stays in the country."

Mr. Johnson, Republican, of Washington, chairman of the House Immigration Committee, said that information sought by enumerators could not be made public, and that evidence obtained in this way could not be used in the courts in deportation proceedings.

The Hoch amendment aimed at the alien population was added as a new paragraph to Section 22 of the Senate bill. That section directs the President to transmit to Congress at its regular session in December and at the beginning of each fifth Congress thereafter a statement showing the whole number of "persons" in each State entitled to representation in the House.

The Hoch amendment read:

"The word 'persons' as used in this section shall not be construed to include aliens. If any provision of this section is declared to be unconstitutional the validity of the remainder of the act shall not be affected thereby."

Amendment Affecting South.

Mr. Tinkham, Republican, of Massachusetts, who has been baiting the South for years for alleged derelictions in relation to the Fourteenth Amendment, offered the amendment which would affect the representation of any State that abridges the voting rights of any element of its population. It also was incorporated in Section 22 of the bill.

That section excludes from the "persons" to be included in reapportionment figures "Indians not taxed." The Tinkham amendment would add "and inhabitants in each State being 21 years of age and citizens of the United States, whose rights to vote at an election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State or the members of the Legislature thereof, has been denied or abridged except for rebellion or other crime."

Democratic leaders declared that if the Tinkham amendment became a law it would reduce representation of nearly every Southern State from one to five members.

Mr. Rankin of Mississippi, member of the Census Committee, sought

to strike from the bill the provision that would provide for automatic reapportionment every ten years in accordance with figures to be submitted by the Secretary of Commerce. His amendment provided that the House should reapportion its seats every ten years instead of delegating it to the Secretary of Commerce. This was beaten by a narrow margin—157 to 148.

Two amendments, one by Representative Fish of New York, the other by Representative Swing of California, providing for enumeration of the needy aged as a means of providing old age relief, were defeated.

Mr. Lehlbach of New Jersey led the fight against the Wagner amendment which proposed to apply the merit principle to the appointment of census enumerators and agents. He insisted that such classification should not be provided for 100,000 people who were to hold jobs for only a few weeks, and the House, agreeing with him, rejected the Wagner amendment with a whoop.

Mr. Green of Florida charged that the Republicans wanted these jobs for their own "henchmen." Mr. Boylan of New York offered an amendment proposing that the census jobs should pay \$12 a day instead of \$8 as provided by the Senate bill. He asked for a division vote, declaring he wanted the \$8-a-day men to stand up and be counted. The Boylan amendment was beaten 110 to 16.

CITIZEN

Lowell, Mass.

APR 24 1929

In the discussion over the relative importance of the 14th and 15th amendments as compared with the 18th, it has been asserted by southerners and sometimes conceded by northern supporters of the later amendment that the provisions for the safeguarding of Negro rights were so utterly impracticable that nullification was a necessity, however objectionable it may have been in theory. Possibly it was, but it does not follow that it is now. There has been great progress in Negro education. A considerable proportion of Negroes old enough to vote are literate, and within a few years this race will be very close to the white people in point of education. Is it then a necessity that Negroes shall be kept out of party primaries or discriminated against in registration for elections? This is a question that the South may have to answer in a different manner from that which has become traditional. We have our doubts regarding the permanence of a system that will attempt to exclude from political equality a race indistinguishable from the hitherto ruling class in everything but color. The South may well be left to work

out its own problem, but we are by no means sure that it has already found the answer.

REPUBLICAN SPRINGFIELD, MASS

APR 18 1929

Fifteenth Amendment Answers "Here"

A Negro took his seat in the lower branch of Congress this week. Almost nothing has been said about it. This is encouraging as a sign of national serenity, for one must go back many years to find in the membership of the House other Negro congressmen. So far as the House is concerned, the 15th as well as the 19th amendment to the constitution now answers "Here" when the House roll is called.

To be sure, the Negro congressman is not from an Atlanta, but from a Chicago district. This means that in Chicago the Negro citizens vote. They also vote in the city of New York and the time is not distant when a Negro from New York will represent the Harlem district in which the city's large Negro population has concentrated. The outlook is that the Negro race's representation in Congress for years to come will be based on the large Negro communities in such great cities as Chicago, New York and Philadelphia.

There is no complete nullification of the 15th amendment, as Congressmen De Priest's presence in the House demonstrates. By virtue of the increasing dispersion of the Negro population over the country, the practical nullification of it is growing less, if we measure nullification in terms of the exclusion of the race as a whole from political expression and activity. The 15th amendment is not dead; life remains in it.

Political - 1929

Georgia

Suffrage

VOTERS SHOULD QUALIFY

In season and out of season, those who are interested in an increased list of registered voters, should keep everlastingly at it. Rightfully who ought to be encouraging our people to take advantage of our national committee for this great privilege. Many who are now on the registration list have disqualified themselves by failing to pay the dollar tax each year as is required by the state. Then, too, there are thousands of young men and women who have displayed downright carelessness in their failure to become qualified voters. It seems impossible to impress upon them the importance of being full-fledged citizens and be placed in a position where they can, whenever the time requires it, cast a vote for their protection. They should understand that most of the things we so badly need are secured only through the use of this franchise, and until our group bestir along this line by swelling the registration list, there will be a continuous denial. The books of the county tax collector are now open. Every registered voter in order to remain qualified, should pay the dollar tax. Those who have not done so should be urged to the necessity of registering.

AN APPEAL TO THE

UNREGISTERED NEGRO

BY CHAS. H. STEWART

Savannah, Ga.

To the unregistered men and women of my race, I am calling upon you to read and use your better judgment in the performance of what naturally is your duty. Seeing that we, as a race, are tossed and driven as a ship without compass or guide upon a restless sea, our political hopes seem to be slipping from our hands. This is not a government of one race alone, but a government of all the people regardless of race or previous condition of servitude. It was uttered in the proclamation of independence about 177 years ago, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuits of happiness, that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Let us take observation of conditions as they are now. Then let us ask ourselves the question, is

the Negro getting his share of recognition from our government?

Then we are compelled to answer, no. Rightfully who ought to be our national committeeman for Georgia? Hon. B. J. Davis, of course. The declaration further says, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it. Let the Negro below the Mason and Dixon line profit by the actions of the Negroes of New York in their recent primary, when they went to the polls like men and cast their choice. This, of course, they can not do unless they qualify. That is my reason for appealing to you through the columns of The Atlanta Independent to pay your taxes and register. Investing or arming yourselves with the greatest weapon of protection that any American citizen can carry. I am appealing to our many, many ministers to impress it from their various pulpits, see to it that their congregation register and qualify to vote. I am appealing to the grand heads of our fraternal organizations to work through their high office, using their influence to have all their lodges register. Our insurance companies can work through their thousands of waiters, pullman porters, mechanics, graduates, and mail carriers, We want representation and voice not for offensive activity but to in the doings of our government. Show that they are Americans and man without a vote amounts to no more than the dumb beast he works for. Let the doctors in their when it comes to the solution of a question as to his own rights under the government that he owes full allegiance to. Then why should I not ask you to awake and come to your sense of reason and judgment and exercise your rights and privileges as an honest upright American citizen.

WRITE YOUR NAMES ON THE VOTERS LIST.

The social, political, and economic afflictions under which we groan can only be remedied by the constant use of the ballot. Voteless people never enjoy equal opportunities and privileges with the people who vote. People who do not vote are the bond slaves of those who vote. The failure to pay tax and vote is voluntary servitude. Our hope is in the proper use of the ballot.

The failure to qualify to vote in every election where the rights of the people are involved is self disfranchisement, and nobody is to be blamed, except the individual who so disfranchises himself and forfeits his liberty as a free man.

But, the question is, how are we to arouse the people to a sense of their civil and political responsibilities—some kind of effective organization must be effected.

We must interest the preachers in the pulpit, for the Church is the prime source of all government. The preacher is a statesman, and it is his duty to look out for the people in secular matters as well as spiritual matters. If you do not believe it, ask Al Smith.

Then, let's organize the pulpit as a fact; the preachers as an instrumentality—the hotel men,

work through their thousands of waiters, pullman porters, mechanics, graduates, and mail carriers, We want representation and voice not for offensive activity but to in the doings of our government. Show that they are Americans and man without a vote amounts to no more than the dumb beast he works for. Let the doctors in their when it comes to the solution of a question as to his own rights under the government that he owes full allegiance to. Then why should I not ask you to awake and come to your sense of reason and judgment and exercise your rights and privileges as an honest upright American citizen.

Let every ward and precinct chairman appoint captains and lieutenants and organize their wards and precincts into registered voters clubs. Make a house to house canvass. Register, and see that your neighbor does too.

Now is the time to register—today, and every day until the books close.

Political-1929

Suffrage

To The White Voters of Fulton County Atlanta, Ga.

A vacancy on the Board of County Commissioners having been officially declared because of the death of the lamented Captain George W. Hope, and complying with the request of a large number of friends and citizens from every section of our county, I herewith announce my candidacy to succeed to the unexpired term.

I have been informed that a special election will be held in the near future. I will deeply appreciate the support, influence and vote of the white men and women of Fulton county.

Many important matters are to be solved by the county board. The matter of paramount importance is that of economy, with relation to equalization of taxes and business principles in administration. The county must and should live within its income; not only that, the tax-fixing body should look to a reduction in the tax rate at the proper time, and a conservation of resources with a view to educational cooperation to meet the rapid growth of our county. Good schools supplied with reasonably paid teachers of ability are a necessity.

I am and always have been an advocate of permanently paved streets and roads. However, those streets and roads should be where they meet a public need. A street or road should be a public utility, beginning somewhere and going somewhere, and not constructed for selfish purposes or private gain.

I believe in considerate treatment and fair salaries for those employed in the public's service. I do not believe in the creation of unnecessary jobs, nor will I be a party to such a practice. I have no political ambition other than to render a genuine public service which will permanently identify my name in an honorable way with the constructive development of our county.

Although I live in College Park which is located in the southern end of our county, I shall, if elected, be a county-wide commissioner. My every effort will be directed towards a fair and impartial distribution of the county's facilities and income. My distribution of the county's help in the various municipalities will be governed by the county's ability to help, and the recommendations made by the accredited representatives of those municipalities. Atlanta, Buckhead and Bolton will receive from me the same consideration as College Park, East Point and Hapeville. I will strive at all times to be of assistance to those worthy of assistance who are least able to assist themselves.

I have no political entanglements and no political commitments. I earnestly solicit the vote and influence

of the people of Fulton county on the sole ground of my experience, inclination and desire to render faithfully and satisfactorily a human service of constructive development. I have and will devote the necessary time to the duties of County Commissioner from the County at Large.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE F. LONGINO.

17,260 Atlantans Register To Vote in City Primary; Candidates Attend Rally

Tenth Ward Leads With
3,410 Qualifications;
Ninth Is Next—Three
Meetings Set for Tonight

A majority of the candidates for the nine contested positions for which nominations will be made in the city democratic primary Wednesday night made bids at a public rally at Jones Street and Grant street where friends of E. F. Dodd, candidate for city council from the fifth ward, gathered. Mr. Dodd is opposed by Dr. W. M. Henderson, a former member of council.

The rally was begun at 7:30 o'clock and virtually all the candidates in the city-wide race were present.

These are: First, K. T. Shaw, opposing W. Zode Smith for the post of general manager of the city waterworks; J. W. Taylor and Dr. J. E. Turner for alderman from the second ward, and Robert E. Gann and L. O. Moseley, who are fighting it out for the aldermanic post from the sixth ward.

17,264 Registered.
Official registration figures were tabulated Wednesday by Walter C. Taylor, city clerk and registrar, and showed that 17,264 are entitled to cast ballots in the primary as against 21,330 in the 1928 primary.

An increase in registration was noted in two of the wards where there are not contests—the tenth, where 3,410 are qualified as against 2,492 last year, and the second with 1,464 this year compared with 1,292 last year. Tenth ward registration is nearly 20 per cent of the entire list.

Jake Jacobs and W. Chester McLendon are battling for the councilmanic nomination from the second in addition to the aldermanic contest, and former Alderman Charles M. Ford and W. L. Neese are opposing Nelson Spratt, incumbent, for the councilmanic post in the tenth, while Mrs. A. A. Williams and J. R. Sweat are lined against each other for the nomination for the school commissioner's post from that ward.

Registration in the ninth ward is the second largest in the city with a total of 2,316.

Tabulation of ward registration as released by Mr. Taylor's office follows:

| Ward— | 1928 | 1929 |
|----------------|-------|-------|
| First | 179 | 80 |
| Second | 1,292 | 1,464 |
| Third | 2,198 | 1,925 |
| Fourth | 1,301 | 713 |
| Fifth | 2,311 | 1,768 |
| Sixth | 1,081 | 621 |
| Seventh | 2,227 | 1,517 |
| Eighth | 2,846 | 1,736 |
| Ninth | 3,151 | 2,316 |
| Tenth | 2,492 | 3,410 |
| Eleventh | 1,323 | 870 |
| Twelfth | 992 | 844 |

Total

21,330 17,264

Three meetings are slated for tonight—one at the Kirkwood school, beginning at 8 o'clock, and held under the auspices of the friends of Mr. Titshaw; another at 517 Boulevard, S. E., in behalf of the candidacy of J. W. Rountree, incumbent, opposed for renomination as councilman from the third ward by Dr. Edwin Scott, and

the third at the Anne E. West school under the auspices of the Ormewood Park Improvement Club. Both the latter sessions begin at 7:30 o'clock. All candidates were invited to all the rallies.

**NOW IS THE TIME TO WRITE
YOUR NAME ON THE
VOTERS BOOK**

Not tomorrow, but today is the time to register, if you want to be a citizen and have a voice in the affairs of your country. You have from now until the first of May, 1929 to write your name on the voters book. Will you be a man and take advantage of your opportunity? If you want better schools, better streets and sidewalks, more and better police protection, register your name on the voters list.

If you want lower tax, pay your taxes and write your name on the voters list.

Don't put it off until tomorrow, register today. Be patriotic and of some service to your country. Quit being a figurehead; register and vote, and be a real man with the ballot in your hand. Nobody respects a coward, but everybody loves a man.

If you want better pay for your schoolteachers, and the elimination of double sessions from the public schools, register and vote. That's the remedy, and the only remedy.

REGISTER TODAY, NOT TOMORROW!

**B. J. DAVIS URGES
NEGROES TO BUY
HOMES, PAY TAXES**

B. J. Davis, editor of the Atlanta Independent, was principal speaker at commencement exercises of the Atlanta Commercial and Industrial Institute, held Friday night at the school on 91 Parsons street.

The speaker warned members of his race against the dangers of continual migration for the country, and urged them to stay at home, buy homes, pay taxes and prepare themselves to vote, thus contributing something worthwhile to the nation's progress.

The program follows:

Scripture reading, Rev. S. M. Miller, D. D., of Atlanta.

Invocation, Rev. J. B. Gordon, of Monroe.

Song, "Lift Every Voice and Sing."

Oration, Otis E. Pittman.

Vocal solo, "A May Morning," Ruth M. Willis.

Reading, "Triumph of Propriety," Jennie B. Holmes.

Piano solo, "Dance of the Rosebuds," Blanche Jones.

Essay, Almetta Liburd.

Vocal duet, "Oh That We Two Were Maying," Otis E. Pittman and Allie F. Owensby.

Reading, "Opportunity," Annie C. Church.

Quartet, "West of the Great Divide," Otis and Harvey Pittman, Rosa Brown and Ruth Willis.

Violin solo, William Winston.

Vocal solo, "When the Bell in the Light-house Rings Ding Dong," Erma L. King.

Oration, Allie F. Owensby.

Vocal solo, "Sing Me to Sleep," Fannie Mae Moore.

Demonstration, commercial and industrial classes.

Quartet, "Run to My Lord," Almetta Liburd, Allie Owensby, Erma L. King and R. L. Hall.

Address, B. J. Davis.

**YOU CAN'T REGISTER AFTER
APRIL THE 30TH.**

The only way to keep the South from being Lily White is to qualify to vote, and then cast your vote for your friends and against your enemies on election day, without regard to party affiliations.

If the Negroes of the South will write their names on the voters' list in the respective counties where they live, the President and no other individual can Lily White the

Republican party. It isn't worth tinkers dam to denounce the President, curse the Kluxers and Lily Whites, or waste your case we is niggers," if you haven't a vote.

The ballot properly used is the only weapon that will behead the hydra-headed political and economic bandits who have filched our constitutional rights to vote, and who are now trying to economically starve us. The ballot is your weapon. Use it. It is the first step toward economic independence.

If the present administration carries out its apparent plans, let us forget party allegiance and tradition and vote for the men who will give us our rights under the law. But, if your name is not on the voters' list, you are not going to be seen or heard. The man with the vote will continue to wallop and kick you around.

The Mann Patronage Committee Versus The Brown Committee

While the Independent does not admit the authority of Brown, Mann or any person outside of Georgia to set up a patronage committee within the state without the knowledge and consent of the organized Republicans of the state, we are dumbfounded at the arrogant audacity of Colonel Horace A. Mann, from Tennessee, who has no official connection with the party in the state or at Washington. The fact that Colonel Mann managed Mr. Hoover's campaign in the South among the lily whites and klansmen in no sense gives him the right to dictate the distribution of federal patronage in the South. Ben Davis and Perry Howard, who managed the Hoover pre-convention campaigns in their respective states, by the same line of reasoning, would have a perfect right to distribute the patronage in their states.

Mr. Mann's position is destructive of every end of popular government.

Can a man in America, from any course of reasoning, conjecture why or how Colonel Mann acquired the right to demand of the President that he turn his Postmaster General down and deliver to him the authority to hand out patronage in the South for money or otherwise? And, the pertinent question of the situation is, why is Colonel Mann so anxious to handle the patronage in Georgia and throughout the South? What's in it for him, and what does he expect to get out of it? Who believes he, or any other man is just going to handle \$20,000,000.00 in patronage for his health? How did the Colonel ever get it into his head that the President would break with one of his Cabinet officers in order to set him up in the questionable business of dishing out federal pie, with the view of building up a party in the South solely on federal patronage? Did the Colonel expect the President to kick Mr. Brown out the back door of his Cabinet in order to make him a political office broker?

There is some excuse for Mr. Brown and the President to be interested in the handling of patronage, but their interest and concern are limited by party regularity and authority. If reform is necessary to correct evils in the distribution of patronage, this reformation should be brought about within the party. It is a reflection on the integrity and intelligence of the one hundred thousand Republicans in the state for Mr. Brown, or anybody else to set up a patronage committee in the state composed of carpetbaggers, kluxers, lily whites, and race haters to handle the patronage independent of organized Republicanism in the state.

Our government is a republic in form, and the state constitutes a sovereignty, reserving all of its rights not specifically delegated, and the Republican party, in substance and form, is patterned after the republic, and the President, Mr. Brown, Colonel Mann, and nobody else has any more right to set up a patronage committee in a sovereign state to act for an organized political party, without the party's expressed consent, than they would have to come into Georgia and set up a government to function in the place of the officers at the capitol elected by the people.

It may be argued that the President can do as he pleases with patronage. Of course, the President may resort to might, but might is always wrong and never right. Anybody can do wrong, and usurp the rights of the people, but reckoning day comes. Displacing the regular organization of the party in the South with committees of violent agitators does not make it right because the President commits the blunder. Wrong is wrong, it matters not whether the error is committed by the King or his humblest subject. If these Southern organ-

izations were clean enough to be trusted with Hoover money to gather Hoover delegates and to help nominate and elect him, when did they become so dirty?

If Ben Davis was good enough to be Hoover leader in Georgia before the convention, and to take the stump to help elect the ticket, as he has done for twelve years, when did he become so nasty that a white man must be turned down because Ben Davis supports him? Consistency, thou art a jewel; duplicity, double-dealing, deception, treachery and ingratitude, thou art in the saddle riding to a fall.

What a spectacle the Brown and Mann committees are making of themselves hanging around wasting time fighting over pie. They present a most ridiculous spectacle to behold. Could the old organization do worse? Could a band of hungry wolves show keener appetite for blood?

The organization is opposed to both committees, and sees them both as an invasion of its constitutional rights, as an intrusion upon its authority.

It is whispered about that J. T. Rose and A. S. Anderson named the Brown committee, and Charles Adamson and Clark Grier named the Mann committee. If this is true, both Brown and Mann have been ill advised. If Rose and Anderson set up the Brown committee, they should have had in mind the good of the organization of which they were members, and not joined in the effort to crucify it on account of charges that had been brought against them in common with every other member of the organization—bartering patronage. Grier and Adamson, being on the outside, they were expected to join any movement to destroy the party. But we hope that Messrs. Rose and Anderson did what they thought was best, and the only thing that could be done under the circumstances. They did one good thing, they got rid of Hasting.

IT IS TIME TO REGISTER. the ballot box stuffed, but the Negroes neglected to quality and in the time of peace is the time to prepare for war. We believe in vote.

preparadness. Be ready for the Let us do our duty. Let us be conflict when it comes, it matters men. The most effectual way to not what it may be. Be ye ever fight the lily-whites and kluxers, so ready for you know not the is to fight them with the ballot.

hour the Son of Man cometh. Don't fail to register, every day

There is no election now, but is the day to register. Register to this is the time to prepare for the day and not tomorrow. Don't stay next election. Now is the time to away from the registrar's office write your name on the voters and then say the white folks won't list. The books are open every let you register; do your duty by day and the registration officer is qualifying to vote on every elec waiting to record your name, if tion day and there hangs the tail you are prepared **WHO IS KEEPING NEGROES**

What are you going to do about it Sulk in your tent, and then quarrel with the white folks because you cannot vote **28-29**

The ballot is the only weapon that will insure your rights—arm yourself with the proper weapon. This is our country, and the only way we can help protect it, is to arm ourselves with the ballot and use it in the right way on election day. **Atlanta Ga.**

Delaney was defeated in New York because the Negroes failed to register and vote. Delaney was not robbed out of the election, or

OF FULTON COUNTY FROM REGISTERING?

The Negroes themselves, and nobody else! The books are open in the tax collector's office, and whoever will may qualify to vote. No molestation or intimidation is offered any citizen who desires to write his name on the voters' book.

Atlanta Ga. Be he black or white, he can register in this county as freely as he can in New York. It is time for the Negroes in Fulton County to stop lying and write their names on the voters' list.

Fulton County has a capable set of honest officers who discharge

their duties without fear or favor. If you measure up to the standard, you will have no trouble when you get ready to vote. Stop saying you would qualify, if you had anybody to vote for. If you haven't anybody to vote for, you can vote against those who are unfriendly to you every time they stick up their heads. If you do not register, you will not be in a position to vote when somebody comes out you want to vote for.

The time to prepare for war is in the time of peace. It is too late after the devil gets you to pray. You had better prepare for the famine in the time of plenty. You had better return to your civic duty while the light holds out to burn.

Where is County Chairman McHenry, and his thirty-two ward and precinct chairmen—asleep at the switch when the train ran by? Captain, you criticised Dr. Hill when he was chairman for doing nothing, what are you doing? Chairman Driskell, of the Seventh Ward, has things going, while thirty-one wards and county precincts are asleep at the throttle and the monkey has the train on the main line.

Captain, if you are handicapped by your job, resign and let somebody have the place who is not afraid to die. Call your forces to judgment, Roderick—now is the time to do or die. Come down out of the sycamore tree, Captain Jack

The white folks are not in the way, the Negroes are simply disfranchising themselves and lying on the white folks. Come to judgment and tell the truth—that's all

Political-1929

Illinois.

Suffrage.

RACE VOTES DEBATED IN LEGISLATURE

Democrats Are Accused of Flirting For Negroes' Votes. King's Laudatory Resolution Passes

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., April 18—Nullification of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments and enforcement of the prohibition amendment were mixed with personalities in a flow of speeches in the House Thursday. The oratory was prompted by the action of Representative William E. King, of Chicago, in presenting a resolution to commend President Hoover on his stand for strict enforcement of all laws.

Representative Roger F. Little, Republican floor leader, arose and stated that, as a general proposition, he was opposed to memorializing Congress. That was regarded as sufficient by the Democrats for an attack on Republicans for nullifying the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments and their attitude toward the prohibition amendment.

Starts Debate

Representative Michael L. Igoe of Chicago began for the Democrats and the resulting debate presented the unusual spectacle of both Democrats and Republicans unanimously seeking the favor of Race voters.

"Hoover accepted the black delegation at Kansas City," shouted Representative Igoe. "But when it came to the distribution of patronage he pushed them aside like all other Republican presidents have done. I don't blame Representative King and his group for insisting that their rights be protected. Members of his group have done much for you. You shouldn't run them away now. Pass his resolution."

"This is just a whirling of windmills for political purposes," Representative Roy Juul of Chicago stouted across the House to Igoe. "I wish to remind you that the Southland, where the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments are not enforced, is considered the stronghold of the Democratic party."

This prompted a hot interchange of remarks between Igoe and Juul.

Representative M. P. Rice of Lewistown stepped into the verbal barrage to demand why Juul and King, who favor enforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, voted to repeal the state prohibition law.

Passes 60 to 0

"I don't apologize to you or any one for my votes," responded Juul. "I voted for repeal of the state law because I believe it was a method of attacking iniquitous legislation."

The debate was closed by Representative E. W. Turner of Chicago, who asserted "the Democrats are only flirting for votes."

"My memory," he continued, "carries me back to the last mayoralty campaign, and the insults that then were heaped upon members of Representative King's group."

Then, without a dissenting vote Representative King's resolution was passed. The vote was 60 to 0.

Political-1929

STARR
STAR
TERRE HAUTE, IND

JUL 17 1929

JUSTICE SPEAKS FOR THE NEGRO.

In Virginia the other day Judge Groner of the United States District Court declared the Virginia primary law invalid because it restricted participation in the Democratic primaries of the state to white citizens. He ruled that the law was in direct contravention of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

About the same time in West Virginia the Court of Appeals held that a rule adopted by a local library board excluding Negroes from a public library was a violation of their lawful rights and could not be enforced.

In this instance the question of "public policy" was raised in defense of the rule. The court declared: "We would not be justified, on account of public policy, in construing a plain statute to mean something more than its plain language imports." The statute said that libraries "shall be free for the use of the inhabitants." The court could not get away from the fact that the Negroes were inhabitants.

But what sort of "public policy" is it that would deny to any group of inhabitants access to libraries and the means they offer for improvement?

These decisions are auguries of progress in enlightenment, although the conditions out of which they arose indicate a sadly continuing state of prejudice on the part of many in the states concerned. But it is reassuring that the Negro can count upon fair treatment in the courts of such states more confidently today than was once the case.

TRIBUNE

OCT 29 1929

South Bend's Colored Voters.

To the Editor of The South Bend Tribune:

It is indeed strange the attitude the democratic party of South Bend has taken toward the Negro voters of this community. At a time when they are making a bid for the Negro's support in the city election they offer an affront to us that seems almost beyond pardon. This affront thusly offered by the democratic party to the Negroes of this city no doubt will be resented in a most stern manner on the day of election, Tuesday, Nov. 5, 1929.

We do not question the right of the democrats to elect a southern democrat at the head of the city central committee. In fact, we expect them to do just that thing, as without

southern democracy there would be no democratic party. The appointment of this southerner as chairman of the democratic committee was bad enough, but to establish on West Washington street a Jim Crow headquarters for the Negro voters of South Bend was but adding insult to injury.

It is charged that this Jim Crow headquarters established by the democratic party for the Negroes was at the behest of this cracker leader. Now this may be true or it may not be true but when we take into consideration the place of his birth, the environment in which he was reared, the manner of his schooling in justice to ourselves we are compelled to give much credence to these charges. Our experience with southern democrats gives us no loophole other than to accept the charges as 100 per cent true. His Jim Crow headquarters on Washington street is unwarranted, a gross injustice, a measly insult and pernicious. Jim Crowism and southern democracy are synonymous.

To fully protect ourselves we should

keep in mind these facts—the chairman of any political party is the closest adviser to a candidate during a political campaign. After the election he becomes the chief adviser in all matters affecting the city as well as all appointments.

"Come let us reason together. What show will the Negroes of this community have with a political organization headed by a democrat, born, reared and schooled in the south? A southern democrat deeply resents any effort on the part of Negro to advance. Remember that a southern democrat is a southern democrat, be he in the mountains of Kentucky or the beautiful St. Joseph valley of Indiana.

Can an Ethiopian change his color or a leopard change his spots? Jim Crowism is the life of the democrats of the south. It is our duty to kill this monster on its first appearance in this city and forever send it to the and from whence it came.

COLORED VOTER.

South Bend, Oct. 28, 1929.

TRIBUNE

NOV 3 1929

Voice of the People.

The South Bend Tribune invites communications, but will not be responsible for utterances made or opinions expressed. Communications should be limited to 250 words and must be signed with the full and correct name and address of the writer as an evidence of good faith but not necessarily for publication, unless, in the judgment of the editor, the name

should be published. The right is reserved to condense any communication exceeding 250 words. Communications which might seem to be libelous or otherwise unfit for publication not accepted. No communications returned unless accompanied by sufficient postage.

Colored Voter Replies to Jones.

To the Editor of The South Bend Tribune:

In attempting to fathom the reply of William Jones to an article by a colored voter in The South Bend Tribune, Tuesday, Oct. 29, I have met with considerable difficulty trying to get the meaning and understanding. The grammatical construction was of such nature that only an expert decipherer could place it together so that the reader might partly understand it.

I cannot understand how any Negro could defend a Jim Crow headquarters for the Negro democrats by saying that they asked to be segregated when all the facts and circumstances surrounding the democratic party their belief in inequality of opportunity for Negroes, their platform of injustice and discrimination, naturally lead any thinking Negro to believe that such Jim Crow headquarters was thrust upon them. If the democratic Negroes asked for such Jim Crow headquarters it simply means and shows that they have that inferiority complex and accept the fundamental policies and principles of the democratic party that the Negroes should still be enslaved and as dumb driven cattle. The democratic party locally is the same as the democratic party nationally. It is conceived in revenge, nurtured in hatred and ornamented with colorphobia.

We as colored voters are compelled to give thought and much consideration to the head of the democratic city central committee. The democratic party is unfair to Negroes to begin with; and to elect a southern democrat at the head of its party shows only that all democrats are firmly imbued with the policies and principles of their party. The democratic party of the north, be it city, county or state, is nothing but the tail of the democratic party of the south and whatever direction the head goes the tail is bound to follow. Colored voters do not be hoodwinked and fooled by the democrats. In one sentence the colored democratic writer said:

"I claim that in the past three and one-half years of democratic control my people have enjoyed more privileges as American citizens than they have ever enjoyed in the history of South Bend."

Let us analyze this sentence and

see what the writer terms enjoyment and privileges. If he terms the running of gambling dens, whisky dens and houses of prostitution wide open and unmolested by those who think as he thinks I quite agree with him. Has such a privilege been granted him? The good colored citizen of this city who think as this writer thinks, and they are many, want a clean and wholesome city in which to live and the right to enjoy all the privileges and advantages which are outlined in the platform of the republican party along with all other citizens. We believe that our only hope for advancement and political recognition is in the republican party and that all of the men on the republican ticket in this city election believe in equality of opportunity and a square deal to every man and woman regardless of race or color.

The Negro democrat in speaking about the last national election does not know the facts relative to the southern states. The only southern states that carried the electoral votes for the republican party are Virginia, Florida, Kentucky, Texas, Tennessee, Oklahoma and North Carolina; and it was because of the religious prejudice of those southern democrats and not any love that they had for the republican party. This was only a demonstration of prejudice in their own party. What love do you think they have for you, Mr. Negro democrat?

A COLORED VOTER.

Indiana.

Political-1929

Suffrage

CALL MASS MEETING FRIDAY NIGHT

Police Order Certain People Not To Attend

had better not go, and none of their patrons. This smacks of slavery! It

is slavery—What kind of Negroes

are these that police officers can or-

der them to stay away from a meet-

ing called for their own good and

uplift?

All constitutions—Federal and

State—guarantee to all men the

right of free speech and the right

of peaceful assembly!

So the News will tell next week if

the Republican machine can dare Ne-

groes to attend a Negro mass meet-

ing and if the Negroes accepted the

dare, or if they laid down like curs.

Rev. G. D. Troutman, assistant

assistant pastor of Fifth Street

Baptist church, was schedul-

ed to preside, and Mr. Charles

Ryan, defeated candidate for Sheriff,

idol of thousands of Colored voters,

who claimed he was "robbed" of the

nomination, was scheduled to speak.

The News will tell you all about

it next week.

A mass meeting was scheduled for Odd Fellows Hall Friday night, September 6. What happened The News will tell next week, but for this week it has learned that certain well known Colored and white men called the meeting to protest against the treat-ment of Negroes by the Republican party in Louisville. In their call they say they feel the Negro was outrageously treated by the Repub-lican machine when neither Brown or Edwards, two outstanding Colored men, was allowed a chance to win the nomination for representative in the 58th district—an almost solid Negro ward.

Nobody believes that McIntosh, an almost unknown white man, who never campaigned, never made a speech, never put out a placard, could win over either Brown or Edwards. It is generally felt that the machine "took" the nomination and that the Republicans of Louisville are lily-white and anti-Negro—except at election time, and that they would rather be defeated than have a Negro on the ticket, despite the fact They Never Could Win, and Never Can Win Without The Solid Negro Vote.

Also the mass meeting is planned to demand Colored Captains over Colored precincts, and Colored district leaders in Colored districts. The News has learned that police have told certain Negroes not to attend the meeting. Certain men have told The News that police officers came to their places and told them they

Kentucky.

"DIVIDED WE FALL"

The primary election held in the city of Louisville, Ky., last week offered a fine example to the Negro racial group as to what will happen when factions within the group divide on matters affecting the race's interests.

Two prominent Negro leaders were candidates for the nomination in the legislative race in a district where ninety-five percent of the voters are Negroes. Each candidate was supported by his faction and a race newspaper was supporting the candidacy of each one of the men. The final count showed that one of the race candidates received 373 votes and the other polled 303 votes, while the white candidate won the nomination with a vote of 580. Had either of the race candidates yielded with a view of having Kentucky's Negro citizenship have a representative in the law making body, the total vote cast for their two candidates of 673 would have given a safe majority over the white candidate.

The same state of affairs that prevailed at Louisville prevails in every section where Negroes reside. Such selfishness and lack of vision serves to impede the race's progress and is responsible for the retrogression along the lines of business, education and religion, as well as politics.

The Negro can howl about the hostile attitude of certain white men just as long as he pleases, but until he tosses aside petty jealousies and factionalism, and unites his forces with a view of securing recognition, he will never accomplish anything whatsoever. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the Negro alone is responsible for his undesirable predicament. He has no one to blame but himself for it is plain that the "dog in the manger" spirit prevail in far too many instances.

Regardless as to the movement launched, there will always be found a faction among the racial group to register opposition and such opposition becomes so determined as to lose complete sight of the race's interest. Until united effort prevails, the race is bound to fall.

REGISTER RIGHT NOW

The books in the different wards and precincts throughout Knoxville and Knox county were opened last Monday morning and will remain open until August 19, between the hours of 8 a. m. and 9 p. m. each day, for the purpose of giving voters, men and women, an opportunity to secure their registration certificates so that they may exercise their franchise in the elections to come off during the next two years.

In order to cast your vote in the approaching election for selecting councilmen and members of the board of education, you must have a registration certificate. The old certificate secured two years ago is of no further use and may as well be thrown away. Early in the spring of next year the important election for the purpose of selecting the high sheriff, trustee, register, criminal court clerk and other important offices, including justices of the peace, will be held. Voters who do not secure their registration certificates during the present ten days of registering will have no part in these elections.

Don't delay another minute. Toss aside everything and go to the books in the ward or district where you live and have your name recorded on the registration books. Do that NOW!

Political - 1929

Louisiana.

Supp. 1929.

NEGROES REGISTER AS DEMO-
CRATS

Simmons
NEW ORLEANS, La., May 21—(By ANP)—Efforts by the city to enforce the law passed by the state legislature requiring that only qualified electors be employed by contractors engaged on public contracts has resulted in 400 new registrations during the past two weeks. Half of the new registrants are Negroes, most of whom registered as Democrats. Of the small number of Negroes registered in the past virtually all listed themselves as Republicans.

DEMOCRATS WILL LAUNCH DRIVE FOR VOTES

Party Heads Plan to Make
Nation Wide Campaign of
Organization.

RAINEY CALLED

Al Smith Leader Confers
With Chieftains in N. Y.

BOSTON. (ANP) That the Democratic party intends to put up a fight to gain Negro votes throughout the country was indicated here recently when Julian D. Rainey, attorney, national organizer and titular head of Negro democratic forces in the last campaign, was called to New York to confer with party chieftains.

While Mr. Rainey was silent on the matters discussed in the meeting of the "higher ups" and the exact purpose of his trip, it is said that a nation-wide campaign of organization would be launched and the National organizer would tour the country for the purpose of cementing the advantages already gained among Negroes.

At Pow Wow

Further significance is laid to the fact that when a great Democratic pow wow banquet was held here at the Statler Hotel and Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York, a possible presidential candidate in 1932, was guest of honor, party leaders made great efforts to see that representative Negroes be present.

Those Present

Among those present at this banquet were: Dr. Silas F. (Shag) Taylor, Negro State chairman; Dr. William Worthy, secretary; William Monroe Trotter; James Wolfe, attorney; Dr. Andrew Latimore, Dr. Walter O. Taylor, and others.

Previous to this love feast, another banquet was held at the Railway club where Negroes from all parts of the state were present. Former Mayor James M. Curley was the chief speaker. He told of his record of appointments of Negroes to high City offices in the face of protests on the part

of both white Democrats and Republicans, and the failure of Negro voters to support him for the office.

13th Ward

State Senator and City Councillor Michael J. Ward of the 13th Ward, which is over 2 to 1 Democratic, although the bulk of Negro voters of the State live in this ward, has repeatedly emphasized that he as Democratic "boss" of the world, would throw his entire machine back of any Negro in the ward who desires any elective office.

THE QUESTION OF A COLORED JUDGE

Seemingly, Massachusetts has closed the "Door of Hope," against the political ambitions of her Colored population, locked it, and thrown the key into the river.

Charter government for both Boston and Cambridge, the two greatest centers of Colored voters, has successfully barred them from berths in the cities' government for many years.

Gerrymandering of the South End wards has eliminated what opportunity we might have had for electing a representative to the Massachusetts legislature. Appointing a Colored man to political office of responsibility and trust is something that governors no longer ever think of, but when campaigning for office and courting Colored votes, they always tell of the wonderful things that will be done to give the Colored man a square deal.

Every race that votes in Massachusetts is represented on the judiciary but ours. Still Massachusetts is supposed to be a Republican state, only having been under the administration of three Democratic governors in thirty years.

Benjamin F. Butler, the "contraband" general of Civil War fame, elected on the Democrat ticket as governor of Massachusetts in 1882, gave the Colored people their first judge in the person of George L. Ruffin.

In those days we had few if any qualified, as compared with what we have to-day to fill such a dignified position. But Butler looked upon dignity as the starch of a shroud. He was always willing to sacrifice it in exercising his talents inciting others.

Judge Ruffin served his office with dignity. He was a respected and capable jurist. He was a credit to the Massachusetts bench. His record was such as to leave no question in the mind of a fair and unprejudiced governor of the advisability of appointing another Colored judge to succeed him.

Governor Allen, before a packed and jammed house in Ruggles Hall, last fall told the Colored people if elected to the high office, he would give the Colored people the same consideration that he would any other race. In view of the fact that there are to be several appointments to the bench within the

next few months, there should immediately be started an organized movement for the appointment of a Colored judge in Massachusetts.

WHAT THE COLORED PEOPLE HAVE DONE AND ARE DOING IN BOSTON

By C. Amboy Wilks

Our Legislature is all white; and we are not down in Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi or Florida. We are right here in Massachusetts, known all over the world as the cradle of Liberty. Since the days of Slavery, and at a time when our population was less than 10% of what it is now, fourteen members of our race had seats in the Massachusetts Legislature. They were in order, Charles L. Mitchell, Joshua B. Smith, Edwin J. Walker, Lewis Hayden, George L. Ruffin, George W. Lowther, J. C. Chappell, Andrew B. Lattimore, Charles E. Harris, Robert Temoah, William B. Armstrong, William B. Reed (now Executive Secretary to Governors' Council), John B. Smith, and William H. Lewis (Ex-U. S. Asst. Atty. General). We are not disfranchised even though we have the votes—which we did not have at the time when Colored men were elected—to send at least two representatives each year. Taxation without representation is something that should interest all business men as well as all others who pay taxes.

Political-1929

Michigan

^{Suffrage}
**DETROIT RACE VOTERS
DIVIDED FOR PRIMARIES**

DETROIT, Mich., Oct. 2.—(Special
to ANP) The political pot is boiling
to a degree not excelled, if ever
equalled, in the City of Detroit in
the contest for Mayor now being
waged by the present incumbent
John C. Lodge, and former Judge
Charles C. Bowles of the Recorder's
Court, and John W. Smith, pre-
decessor of Mayor Lodge; each has
been prominent in Detroit politics for
several years, and each has a fol-
lowing which is determined to fight
to the bitter end in electing its re-
spective candidate.

The Negro voters, like ancient Gaul
are divided into three parts; the one
being inseparably linked to former
mayor, John W. Smith; another ele-
ment equally lined up with Judge
Charles Bowles; and a third element
will vote for the present incumbent,
John C. Lodge. Efforts to unite the
three factions on one candidate have
proved futile thus far, and present
indications are that the Negro vot-
ing element will not present a solid
front in the primary election soon to
come off.

Political-1929

Missouri.

Suffrage
NEWS & LEADER
SPRINGFIELD, MO.

JUL 18 1929

The Wastebasket

Into which are often tossed things
well worth while.

It has been a long time since Springfield has had a negro on the police force or in any other official position. A negro has lost political power here. Joe Armstrong was probably the last negro on the police force. Aaron White, a tall negro with burn-sides, was once coroner, as was Alf Adams, a negro barber, who was influential among the negroes and had friends among the whites. He used to represent the old Fourth ward which had a large negro population. The democrats beat him once in a while, but he would come back. One of the campaign tricks of the democrats which worked well was when they nominated a prominent business man against Adams and then circulated the report that their candidate was an octaroon. One negro who was elected to the city council when there was a scramble for a lighting franchise and, when a doodle was circulating, was caught with a fistful of marked greenbacks. The republicans nominated Tom Campbell for police judge. He is a negro lawyer now practicing in Denver and was defeated. It was found that a negro candidate did not necessarily pull the negro vote as there were jealousies which were carried to the polls. When J. E. Mellette was the republican nominee for mayor it was charged he had promised to name two negroes on the police force, but Mellette met the complicated situation adroitly. He made a speech in which he pleaded for harmony among the races and declared he was making no promises about the distribution of offices and had promised no one, white or black, in office and would make no such promise.

Political-1929

New Jersey

Supp
JOURNAL

JERSEY CITY, N. J.

MAY 7 1929

Urges Colored Voters Cast Ballots Early to Insure Victory by Noon May 14

No State Police Will be Needed at Polls, Murray Assures Listeners—Hartung Shows Where Mayor's Financial Figures Are at Fault.

James F. Murray, addressing an enthused group of colored voters last night declared that fact much advertised by Hague that there is no red light district in Jersey City, was not because of Hague, but in spite of Hague. He added that the cleaning up of Jersey City was due to the work of clergymen of all denominations.

Murray told of Mayor Hague's desperate attempts to gain votes by trying to dismiss the school children early and to get them to return at night with their parents, and that he was forced to abandon this plan when exposed by the press.

Murray said that the rumor that there would be rioting and trouble at the polling places was only Hague propaganda to keep women voters from the polls. He said that there was no truth in the rumor that the state militia would be called out to guard the polls.

"If the polls must be guarded, local anti-Hague men can adequately furnish protection from their own ranks, and the state police will not be called into the city on election day," Murray said. In asking that votes be cast early on election day, Murray said that if a heavy early vote is cast, Hague will be defeated by noon of election day.

Murray, with John V. Hartung, James P. Meehan and Joshua Ringle, spoke at the rally of the Colored Voters' League of Hudson County, held at the House of Friendliness, Belmont and Crescent avenues. There were 300 present.

Hartung declared that every member of the Anti-Hague ticket had proven himself a successful business man, while Hague never held a successful business position in his life. Hartung said that by a state law a financial statement of the city business should be published once a year. Hartung said that he had never seen one published in Jersey City as long as he had been in the city, and didn't believe anyone else had.

He said that Hague denied that

Meehan pictured Jersey City as a corporation and the voters as its stockholders. He said that the City Commissioners should be the officers of the corporation, taking orders from the stockholders and acting as representatives of the voters rather than ruling them.

Meehan declared that if the Hague organization were re-elected the Public Service would take the busses away from the private owners in Jersey City. He said that Hague had ceased to make the Public Service a campaign issue because of the attempts of Public Service lawyers to save John F. Boyle's position on the Tunnel Commission. In return for the services of the Public Service counsel, Meehan said, Hague would knife the private bus owners and put in Public Service busses on all lines in the city.

Meehan declared that the Hague speakers were trying to convince the people of Jersey City that the anti-Hague candidates are strangers. He gave, as an example, the statement of Thomas Stanton, at a meeting in the downtown section a few days ago. Stanton said, "who is this James P. Meehan, anyhow?"

Joshua Ringle declared that Hague's statement that the anti-Hague ticket is controlled by the Jersey Journal was false. He said that all five candidates on the ticket are earning a living independent of aid and are not controlled by anyone.

Ringle pointed out that Hague's control of Jersey City has resulted in 400 industries leaving the city. He said that with the opening of the Holland Tunnel, 60 new industries had come into the city, leaving a loss of 340 industries to be accounted for by the Hague party.

Hague, Ringle said, installed the Eighth Police Precinct as a "Parental Home for Bad Cops". Ringle said that all of the patrolmen who would not pay their three percent to the Hague machine were relegated to the Edge Avenue station. He said that the station is unnecessary as the work had been adequately handled by the Fourth and Fifth precincts, before the Eighth was formed.

Ringle denied the rumor that his shop is not employing colored employees. He said that it is absolutely false. He turned over to Fred M. Carter, chairman of the meeting, a letter from a Negro mechanic employed by Ringle giving the names of colored employees of the Ringle Company.

Counselor Robert S. Hartgrove, former counsel to the Hudson County Board of Health, and president of the Colored Voters' League of Hudson County, told of A. Harry Moore's promises to the colored voters at the time Moore was running for governor. He said that after Moore's election to that office, "Stoolpigeon" Gilbert Brown, and a delegation of Jersey City colored voters, were given a "run-around" by the governor in his office in Trenton.

Hartgrove declared that Moore established a reputation of being the biggest failure to ever occupy the governor's chair in this state, and said that he had accomplished less than any other governor in the history of the state.

Hartgrove read a circular letter sent to the colored voters of Jersey City by the Hague campaign committee. The letter declared that "the Hague Commissioners had provided the best commission government that had ever run Jersey City." Hartgrove declared that this was true because the Hague administration was the only commission government that had ever ruled Jersey City.

"Hague's promises are lovely dreams," Hartgrove said, "but the people of Jersey City can no longer be deluded." He said that Hague is fighting a death struggle and will resort to any means to gain victory.

"Hague tries to give one man in each nationality or race the plum and instructs this man to fool the rest of his nationality or race with the assurance that Hague will fulfill his promises."

"From now on," Hartgrove declared, "all of the Negroes will be equally recognized. All will be on top with none made 'the goat.'"

"Assuming that the Civil Service examinations were passed fairly by the four colored policemen now in the police department," Hartgrove said, "how has Hague any right to say that he gave these men their jobs? Has he manipulated the Civil Service Board to have anyone he chooses appointed?"

Hartgrove said that the Negroes will fight to defeat the Hague party to save themselves, their white fellow-voters, and the five Anti-Hague candidates themselves from ruin. He declared that the Hague system is so full of spies that a job holder does not dare to say anything against the organization even in his own home, for fear of losing his job. "To end political slavery," Hartgrove urged, "vote for the Anti-Hague candidates."

Other speakers were Miss Ann B. Hogan, Andrew Curry, Fred M. Carter, chairman of the meeting, Louis G. Faulkner, Rev. William S. Smith, and Aldin Thomas, of the Bureau of Elections.

The Colored Voters League of Hudson County has its headquarters at 489 Jackson Avenue. It has a membership of more than 700 voters.

JOURNAL
JERSEY CITY, N. J.

APR 30 1929
COLORED VOTERS
ANTI-HAGUE LINE

League to Open New Quarters Tonight—Active

Campaigning.

The Colored Voters' league of Jersey City and Hudson County will open headquarters tonight at 489 Jackson Avenue for the purpose of making a thorough campaign throughout Jersey City in the interest of the anti-Hague ticket.

Louis G. Faulkner, vice-president of the League and an anti-Hague Democrat, said, "We expect all self-respecting and law-abiding colored citizens of the community to rally to the support of the fine, capable men that constitute the anti-Hague ticket, namely John V. Hartung, James P. Meehan, John Morris, James F. Murray and Joshua Ringle."

"By the election of these five men the colored citizens of Jersey City will forever stamp out the ignorant and vicious leadership which is now forced upon us."

The headquarters of the league will be open from 5 until 11 in the evening to furnish any information about the anti-Hague campaign and the part of the Colored Voters' League in it.

HOBOKEN, N. J.
OBSERVER

OCT 3 1928

BIG INCREASE IN
COLORED VOTE

Two things have greatly increased the colored vote during the past few years. The enfranchisement of women and the great influx of colored people from the South in days of the World War.

The number of colored people more so than any other group are estimated by their church records, there are now nearly 300 churches with something like 167 outstanding fraternal societies, comprising about 154,000 members in New Jersey, or 150,000 voters. These are becoming to be more and more in addition to religious units, civic, educational and social centers and more than half of the colored people in New Jersey as well as in the entire nation are Baptists.

While normally Republican, they are now dividing their votes, thinking more of men and measures than of parties which after all may be best for them and the nation.

JUL 20 1929

Contributors must sign their names and addresses, not necessarily for publication. Write clearly, on only one side of the paper.—Ed.

THE POWER OF THE COLORED VOTE

Editor Jersey Journal:

According to voting statistics there are between 105,000 and 120,000 Negro voters in New Jersey at the last election. This means for the last ten years Negro voters have increased at the rate of nearly ten thousand annually. Upon this basis there is likely to be about one hundred and forty thousand voters at the next Senatorial election. There are not more than ten thousand voters of this number Democratic. The rest are Republican barring less than one thousand Socialists.

This great number of voters made their appearance under Democratic control in this state. During that time nothing was done to improve the citizen qualifications of colored people. Welfare conditions among colored people in the state are deplorable with no intelligent policy to remedy them. A Republican Legislature held sway under this Democratic Gubernatorial sway which had the power to pass any remedial legislation for colored people it may have desired. But the Republican Legislature did what the Democratic Governors did—nothing.

So far as the state is concerned neither party has any policy of playing fair with colored voters. Among the Republican counties like Atlantic and Camden a pretty fair distribution of governmental positions has been made. In Hudson the Democratic party has done its best work and even this is very meager. The Republican party nationally has had the Federal Government since 1920. Under the incumbency of Senator Joseph S. Frelingheuyssen and his Collector of Internal Revenue, the Honorable Frank Ferguson, now President of the Hudson County National Bank of this city a very fair and proportionate distribution of political patronage was made among colored Republicans.

Senator Frelingheuyssen stood foremost among United States Senators in securing substantial appointments for his colored constituency. Since his term colored people have received practically nothing. During the campaign in which a United States Senator and Governor were elected, it was heralded all over the state where any appreciable number of colored voters were that representative appointments would be given colored Republicans. This promise was made by the Republican candidate for governor and also the candidate for the U. S. Senate.

Under the present Republican management of the state every office possibly that could be filled has been filled by white Republicans and every one that is to be filled within a short time, there are more than three applicants for each position. So far as colored Republicans are concerned the door is more tightly shut in their faces

now than under Democratic governors whom we knew were under no obligations to do any thing unless they desired to recruit the Democratic party by breaking into the colored vote.

Taxation without representation is tyranny and voting without the right to enjoy the same privileges accruing from voting that others receive, is a farce and injustice. Men in all walks of life are to be judged by their word. In business and other walks in life a man's word indicates what he is and the extent of his reliability. The same principle holds good in politics.

A party that will treat lightly one hundred thousand voters in New Jersey is evidently not desirous of their votes or it thinks that cajoling will suffice. If this one hundred and more thousand voters organized and vote for their interest they can defeat or elect any man that runs for Senator or Governor. But greater than this there is a sense of justice, right and fair play that all parties should have and exercise. Not doing so with one group it is a serious question to all groups if there appears a way where by it can refuse them recognition. Negroes are citizens. Veterans are loyal partisans and they have a right to participate in the running of this state and the United States since they must fight and die for both if duty demands it.

If the parties did their duty, they would put into government positions representatives of all groups in order to train them for expert service in government. The South, brutally frank about it, denies the colored voters the right of voting and holding office. Other sections of the country solicit the franchise of colored voters while the axe is being ground for felling party patronage, but after the axe is sharp the black man that turned the stone is shunted aside.

The sufferer in this is not so much the colored voters but the state that should have fair and just persons to run it so that all groups would fare honestly in their rewards. It is time that the parties in New Jersey do the square thing by colored voters because they are citizens.

If we had in government positions colored citizens these persons would make for goodwill and better relations as they would interpret the capabilities of colored people as well as be the mouthpieces for them in all matters touching citizens of New Jersey. In the South, colored men of the education of President Hibben of Princeton cannot vote under Poll Judges who can scarcely write their names, but in New Jersey colored men that can write or read may vote, but colored scholars with the education of a President Butler of Columbia can scarcely get a Pound Keeper's job.

Gentlemen, it is unfair. Negro voters have the power of remedy in the hands but why should they be called upon to suffer the humiliating discrimination now being given them in this state by their own party? County Chairmen and influential state workers should show their good faith by helping to remedy this situation.

Wm. A. Blvd.

Political - 1929

New York.

Suffrage
ELMIRA, N. Y.
STAR-GAZETTE

NOV 1 1929

Colored Voters Are Advised To Vote Tuesday

Issues of the mayoralty campaign were laid before the Colored voters of the city at a Republican mass meeting in the Bethel A. M. E. Church Thursday night. John Duhl, the Republican candidate for mayor, and R. J. Taylor were the speakers.

Mr. Taylor said in part: "I hope you realize that we are on the eve of an important election, that should give each one of us great concern and serious thought. It is our duty, as true American citizens, to go to the polls and avail ourselves of the opportunity to act as interested citizens of Elmira.

"We can only do this by electing a candidate that is upright and honest, fair in his business dealings, impartial and unprejudiced, and who is the representative of a party that stands for a cleaner city morally, with better and fairer ordinances.

"I implore you to go to the polls and rid yourselves of these four years of tyranny, exploitation and discrimination by voting for our candidate, John Duhl, and the Republican party."

Mr. Duhl spoke briefly of municipal affairs.

Political-1929
Suffrage.
POST-STANDARD
SYRACUSE, N. Y.

MAY 14 1929

NEGRO VOTERS TO MEET

The Frederick Douglas Republican club composed of Negro voters, will meet this week to further plans for the fall elections. An executive committee has been formulating plans which will enable the organization to know every Negro entitled to vote. A grievance committee has been appointed by W. B. Goodrich, president, to take up the complaints with Republican leaders.

unite on any particular man. North Carolina's hope—Hugh McRae—failed to land on the Board because, instead of having reached the President in recommendatory course through Secretary Hyde, he was politically projected into the presidential presence.

THE JIM CROW IN NEW YORK.

The negro colony in New York is mainly colonized in the twenty-first district between the Harlem and the Hudson rivers and between 136th and 146th streets. The inhabitants, regarding themselves as a Republican annex, want political privileges. The aspirations of a colored lady named Warner, runs in the direction of election as assemblywoman from her district. She has discovered a plot to "Jim Crow" her by segregating the whites and blacks in her district—and she is giving trouble to the party organization. She has carried her case to the Supreme Court in the hope of forcing a square deal. Invoking the rights of the negro race under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, she wants to enjoin the defendants from splitting the district into a white and negro section and from ousting her as associate executive member of the district committee. She contends that there is every possibility that the county Republican committee will approve recent resolutions of the twenty-first district committee that will accomplish these results.

Republican Leader Conklin is charged with having declared that he would resign from the Republican party, "if a nigger woman should be designated to run for office." He denies the allegation, but the colored lady is making good use of it, nevertheless. And bear in mind, this is the New York Republican way of discriminating against the negro. It isn't a happening "down South."

OBSERVER
CHARLOTTE, N. C.

AUG 1 1929

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Mrs. E. H. Warner Loses Injunction Suit Against Robert S. Conklin Proposed Division of Twenty-first Assembly District Ruled Outside Supreme Court Jurisdiction

Judicial assent to the division of the Twenty-first Congressional District by the Republican party was given Saturday in a ruling by Supreme Court Justice Collins on the Jim Crow suit filed by Mrs. E. Hortense Warner against Robert S. Conklin and

other leaders of the district. Mrs. Warner, who is running in the primaries as an independent candidate for nomination as Republican Alderman from the Twenty-first, sought a temporary injunction to halt the division of the district. She contended that the move was made to separate the races politically and to deprive her of the nomination and place as associate executive member.

Justice Collins aid in denying the injunction: "If this charge of prejudice is true, the authors are responsible to the electorate and not to the court." He also pointed out that the plaintiff was executive member only by courtesy and had no legal right to the contested membership in the district council.

The court action named, in addition to Conklin, Charles W. B. Mitchell, leader of the eastern unit under the new plan; Hester Green, his associate; Margaret Sealy, white, Conklin's associate, and Samuel F. Crony, white.

The final division of the district is not complete, according to the answer filed by Conklin. The Republican County Committee must give its approval when it meets after the primaries before the vote of the district becomes effective, the leader said.

acceptance that The Amsterdam News would continue its independent political policy.

"Much as I desire to assist in the election of a Negro to Congress from New York," the editor wrote. "I could not accept the place if I felt that my acceptance would, in any way, compromise the political independence of the paper I serve."

Campaign headquarters are expected to be opened within the next few days.

POST-STANDARD
SYRACUSE, N. Y.

SEP 24 1929

Greater Registration of Negroes Is Urged

Increased registration among the Negro voters of the city was urged last night by W. B. Goodrich, president, at a meeting of the Frederick Douglas Republican club. Volunteer workers were called upon to weed out the nonvoters from the voters, and to urge all those eligible to register so that they may be able to vote on election day. A Republican landslide in the city and county was predicted.

Robert S. Conklin Denies Allegations Of Mrs. Warner's Segregation Suit

Contents That Woman Republican Never Had Place on Executive Committee— Ex-Convict Husband Mentioned

Declaring the charges of Jim Crowism and misuse of power made by Mrs. E. Hortense Warner, independent Republican candidate for nomination as Alderman from the Twenty-first are unfounded and untrue, Robert S. Conklin, white, associate leader of the Assembly district, filed an answer to Mrs. Warner's suit Monday in Supreme Court.

The suit was instituted two weeks ago. Mrs. Warner's assertion that Conklin engineered the division of the Congressional district along racial lines was denied in full by Conklin. The defendants named had no power to divide the district and the division was exercised by a newly elected county committee and is racial in no sense, the answer declared.

The leader also contends that Mrs. Warner never had a place on the executive committee. The nomination was denied the plaintiff because many Negroes opposed her on the grounds that her husband was convicted in the Federal courts and sent to Atlanta Penitentiary and that Mrs. Warner was involved in transactions which resulted in the conviction.

An answer by John F. Helm, white, secretary of Conklin's club, states that the division meeting merely designated proposed executive members and associate members for the two district sections. He further contends that Conklin is the sole executive member of the district and will remain so until the Republican County Committee ratifies or vetoes the resolution making the division.

The right of official designation of a candidate for an office lies with the electorate and the pronouncement of the party organization is only an expression of approval of that body, Helm asserts. Other answers denying the charges of Mrs. Warner are Charles W. B. Mitchell, leader of the eastern section; and Mrs. Hester Green, his associate.

The 19th A. D. Muddle

GEORGE W. HARRIS, that once fearless exponent of Negro leadership in Harlem, the man who fought the Republican leadership of Robert S. Conklin in the Twenty-first Assembly District and wrested the Aldermanic nomination from the regular organization candidate there several years ago, who laid down his armor when he made peace with Conklin, has now gone down on all fours so as to be on hand when crumbs fall from the table of Abraham Grenthal, white Republican leader and Assemblyman of the Nineteenth Assembly District. Harris, a graduate of Harvard University and editor and founder of The New York News, has permitted himself to be used as a tool to perpetuate Grenthal's leadership.

GRENTHAL, it must be remembered, broke with Fred R. Moore some time ago because Moore espoused the cause of Negro leadership in the district. As a consequence, Moore was denied the organization's designation for Alderman from the district a few days ago. Grenthal's own redesignation for the Assembly was contested by Attorney Francis E. Rivers, who will carry the fight into the Primary election with Alderman Moore; and Colonel Charles W. Fillmore promises to contest Grenthal's leadership of the district when the new county committee meets to elect the district leader. Rivers and Fillmore are also Negroes.

LIKE MOST WHITE MEN who seek to keep the Negro in subjection for their own personal gain, Grenthal long ago reached the conclusion that the best way to perpetuate himself in office as an Assemblyman and as leader of the Nineteenth District was to keep the Negro divided—keep him fighting with himself, and run off with the spoils meanwhile. He has already served five terms in the Legislature, and following the resignation of David Costuma was elected leader of the district. He was re-elected to the Assembly on two occasions when Negro candidates running for the Board of Aldermen on the Republican ticket with him were defeated. The methods he employed have always been and still are questionable.

THUS, THE LEADERSHIP succeeded in keeping him in office and in keeping Negroes out of office until two years ago when Editor Moore was elected to the Board of Aldermen. Moore, who was the first Negro elected from the Nineteenth to any office since Dr. Charles Roberts was elected to the Board of Aldermen, ran ahead of Grenthal on the ticket. He was entitled to the redesignation.

UNFORTUNATELY, it is true that Moore himself espoused the cause of white leadership until the break

with Grenthal. Nevertheless, it is fortunate that he broke with him and The Amsterdam News, for one, congratulates him upon the stand he has since taken.

WE HAVE LITTLE or no quarrel with Grenthal. He is doing what hundreds of white men before him have done, and what hundreds of those who come after him will continue to do, if they can, to delay the political emancipation of the Negro in Harlem and elsewhere. Our quarrel is with so-called Negro leaders who permit themselves to be used by white men for the benefit of white men—men, and women, too, who in their eagerness for office and petty jobs sacrifice their self-respect and intelligence to the detriment of their race. This is what George W. Harris did when he accepted the designation for Alderman of the Nineteenth Assembly District, and this is what Negro voters should remember when they go to the polls to vote in the Primary election.

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Political - 1929

North Carolina.

Suffrage
HERALD

Durham, N.C.

MAY 3 1929

USE, OR ABUSE?

In the election to be held in this city next Tuesday, the colored citizens are going to play a more important part than heretofore, according to reports of their registration. These reports place the total number of Negroes registered since the primary at from three to five hundred. The lower figure is probably nearer correct. There have been accusations flying around as to which candidate or set of candidates is responsible for this heavy registration among the colored citizens. Whether the report of undue activity of any candidate among the colored voters is true or merely the old scheme of dragging the Negro into politics, we do not profess to know. It may be that the cause is due to a newly awakened interest among the Negroes in local city politics. It may be that they are more keenly alive to their citizenship responsibilities than they have been in the past and that is why they are registering preparatory to voting next Tuesday.

No complaint can be legitimately raised if the Negro participates in elections. He is a citizen in the eyes of the law, and many of them are taxpayers and entitled to a voice in the affairs of government. Whether they have anything special they want at this time which is causing them to become more active than usual, we are not informed. Naturally, if they vote in any considerable numbers, and by their votes should swing the election to either faction, they will be in a better position to make requests for services than if they stayed out of local politics.

If the Negroes are registering and expect to take part in the election on their own initiative, availing themselves of their citizenship rights solely through their interest in the city's welfare, they are to be commended. If they are being herded for the benefit of any special faction or interest just as they used to be in the old days when they were marched up and voted without knowing for what they were voting, then they are being misused, probably against their own interests. That is a matter, however, that they themselves can best answer.

Political-1929

Ohio

Suffrage

Plight of Negroes In Cincinnati

Negroes in Cincinnati Must Vote Solidly—

Know Power of Your Votes

Negro World
Editor, The Negro World:

I feel it my duty, as a citizen and as one of the leaders of my race in Cincinnati, to advise and so help to shape their destiny in order to prevent any further embarrassments, and impediments of their progress in Cincinnati, politically, socially, and economically.

For some time, we had Gang-Politics; and for the last four years we have had Class-Politics. Hence, it is now expedient and high time that the Negro THINK FOR HIMSELF, and work for the best interest of the masses instead of the classes.

During the early spring, one of the prominent Negro dentists of the city came to my office with a petition; stating that the Charter Committee would endorse a Negro man as a candidate for the City-Council, providing he could get some of the leaders of the said race to sign the petition. I was the first one to sign said petition. But, to my surprise, on Monday, May 20, 1929, the Charter Committee announced the names of their nine candidates, and gave a reception in their honor at the Sinton Hotel. Unfortunately the Negro candidate, whom they were supposed to endorse, was not present at this reception, nor was his name announced or included in the nine announced by said Committee. Several eminent Negroes of Cincinnati attended this reception, and the white waiters refused to even serve them.

Negroes of Cincinnati, permit me to ask, "Will the Negro continue to be humiliated and mortified in this manner? First, the white Masons of Cincinnati absolutely refused to let the Negro Masons of Cincinnati enter their Temple in Uniform. Second, at the Charter Committee's reception, white waiters absolutely refused to serve Negro guests.

The Negroes of Cincinnati raised quite a sum of money to assist in erecting a new \$700,000 Y. W. C. A. Building, for white women. Negro women were under the impression, as white man only respects power. The they donated and helped to raise funds for the erecting of this institution, that they, too, would have free access to said institution; but are not together enough to control

unfortunately, they were only permitted to the Dedication by a Pass-Card signed by the Officials of the Blue-Vein Y. W. C. A., at Eighth and Cutter streets.

We have in the City of Cincinnati one of the most modern and equipped hospitals of the world, and it is maintained by the tax payers of Cincinnati, irrespective of color. But, despite this, Negro physicians and nurses are not permitted to practice their professions in said institution, which they help to maintain.

Through close observation, I am cognizant of the fact, that the intelligentsia are not together in Cincinnati; consequently, the masses suffer. Now, I would bow my head in shame if I were supported by the masses of Cincinnati, and then in turn refuse to look out for their welfare. Such a condition reflects unfavorably on the intelligent group of our race in Cincinnati.

Take, for instance, Cleveland; there they have three Negro Councilmen; likewise Philadelphia and New York. Chicago was fortunate enough to elect a Negro Congressman. With all of our intelligence in Cincinnati, we cannot even elect a Garbage Inspector. He has to be appointed, and now we haven't one. Now, Negroes can't you see your predicament and condition?

Let us cease petitioning white men. Let us show our power by our votes; let us vote together. The Charter Group announced their nine candidates, the Republican party is going to announce its nine, therefore, let Negroes announce their candidates. For example: below the Mason and Dixon Line, the Democrats are in the majority, but for the sake of white supremacy during the last national election Democrats of the South voted the Republican Ticket. So, let us come together in a Conference and select nine Negroes to run for the City Council; and support them. Let us boycott all parties who nominate themselves. Let us beware of office-seekers and political influence. The only power that the Negro of the United States of America has is his vote. The intelligentsia of the race are not together enough to control

anything of note.

Why does England, or any other nation respect America, or the United States? It is because the United States has a standing army, a navy, submarines and dreadnaughts.

Negroes, nobody is going to respect you until you show your intelligence, ability, and political strength; until you do something on your own initiative.

Nobody respects a petition, unless there is something behind it. We have had Mass Meetings and we have petitioned about policemen killing Negroes, without any feasible reasons, about Negro hospitals, Negro Health Week, and the Community Chest Drive and all of it doesn't amount to a continental.

But, when 25,000 voters of the Negro race in Cincinnati GET TOGETHER, I'LL bet you HELL WILL MOVE.

WILLIAM WARE,
President of the Cincinnati Div.
No. 146 Universal Negro Improvement Association.

OHIO A LITTLE LATE
To The Commercial Appeal:

I observe in your issue of July 2 a clipping from the Cleveland Press with reference to the \$200,000 fund to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment, and I note your editorial comment in this connection.

It has always seemed strange to me that anyone from Ohio (including the late Senator Foraker) should be so keen about enforcing the Fifteenth Amendment when the state of Ohio refused to amend its own constitution to comply with the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The constitution of Ohio of 1851, Article 5, Section 1 provides that "every white male citizen of the United States 21 years of age may vote."

Although the constitution of Ohio was amended several times after 1870, when the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States was adopted, yet the people of Ohio failed, or refused, to amend the constitution of their state to comply with the provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment until 1923, and, presumably, they only then amended the franchise clause in order to do away with the restriction as to male voters only, since the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States had prohibited the restriction of the franchise because of sex.

So it seems that for 53 years the people of Ohio were satisfied to let their constitution restrict the right of suffrage to white people only while constantly preaching out several of the southern states because these states restricted suffrage to persons who possessed certain educational qualifications, or a degree of intelligence sufficient to understand what they were doing, or re-

quired the payment of poll tax as a prerequisite to vote.

The editor of the News says that the constitution slowly gains ground. I think he must be referring to the recent gains in Ohio, where it took 53 years for the people of that state to amend their constitution to meet the federal constitution.

It will be interesting to watch the expenditure of this \$200,000 fund. I wonder if an itemized account will be kept of such expenditures, and published.

Likewise, I wonder what the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will decide in convention assembled with reference to the social co-mingling of the races.

JAMES R. M'DOWELL,
Memphis, Tenn., July 7.

TIMES
TOLEDO, O.

JUN 16 1929

Constitutional Scruples

The United States district court at Richmond, Va., has declared unconstitutional the Virginia primary elections law, which has had the effect of barring Negroes from Democratic primaries in that state by giving political parties the right to make their own rules apparently regardless of the organic law pertaining to the exercise of the franchise.

Judge Lawrence D. Grpner, in his opinion holding the law violative of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the constitution of the United States said that the state could not by delegation or otherwise give vitality to a claimed right which it is prohibited by the federal constitution from enacting into law.

The court cited the case in which a Texas primary law excluding Negroes was held unconstitutional by the United States supreme court, stating that the Texas law differed from that in Virginia, but had the same result. The Virginia law did not specifically bar Negroes, as did the Texas law, but subsequent action of the Democratic party under the authority of the law kept Negroes from participating in the primaries.

The case originated with the filing of a claim for \$4,000 damages against the city election officials by James O. West, a Negro Democrat, because he was refused permission to vote in the last Democratic primary in Richmond. Counsel for the defendant including the assistant attorney general of the state thus bringing the commonwealth to the support of the statute declared unconstitutional, filed a demurrer, which the court overruled.

This case brings to mind the constitutional scruples professed to be entertained by so many people in connection with both moral and material issues. The reformer always has some special provisions of the constitution which he ever bears in mind as paramount and the only one which he is willing to have considered in the evolution of law.

The opponent of the reformer also has his special provisions, the repeal or modification of which he persists in advocating to the exclusion of all other considerations; and so there is an irreconcilable conflict of views and political effort which holds compromise in contempt and sets nowhere because too narrow.

mind to make progress.

The Virginia and other Southern statesmen who framed primary and other laws south of the Ohio river in defiance of the constitutional provisions establishing equality of citizens before the law, roundly denounce their fellow citizens of the North and East whose attitude toward the constitution is equally in the direction of stretching its limitation to meet the special views of those interested. Throughout the country conflicting views of constitutional obligations prove the decadence of the theory, in politics at least that "what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander."

Perhaps we should make better progress toward final adjustment of the constitution to the needs of this generation if we were to be a little more charitable toward one another, in view of our various constitutional scruples concerning the special views that are sectional and those that are universal and shared by large groups in all the states.

The constitution, after all, when established was like the Sabbath. It was for man, not man for the constitution. In its inception and ratification by the thirteen original states, it was the result of compromise, and compromise must ever accompany both its application and development.

Political - 1929

Tennessee

Suffrage SECOND AND THIRD WARD VOTERS

APPEAL MADE TO COUNCIL- MAN TO WIDEN STREETS

A. J. Folsom
Voters of the second and third wards in this city are considering whether they shall name two new Councilmen to represent them in the coming city election, or whether they shall give another term to the present incumbents, so it is said. This practically a death trap; that it is hesitancy and this indecision on their too narrow to accommodate the part, it is claimed, is due to the fact that some feel that their not properly looked after and that their Councilmen are not particularly interested in the condition of the wards, when it comes to the poorly improved streets, the narrow thoroughfares, the dark alleys and the failure to have sewers in that part of Nashville which is densely populated with property owners. operation of the second ward voters, It is further claimed by the residents and tax payers in the wards that their impotuning and their repeated requests to their Councilmen to bring them some relief have gone without the desired result. It was that A. and I. State College, Fisk stated last week that that section of University and the new improved the second and third wards between Buchanan Street on the north and Jo Johnson Avenue and Church St. on the south, is being overlooked; that there are perhaps only two or three cross streets in the entire two wards that are really passible. They claim that street-widening and street-paving are necessary to be done and that other sections of the city not so much traversed, are getting the attention. Some feel that it is due to the forwardness on the part of the Councilmen from those wards who seem to get what they want in the city Council.

The voters further feel that the Councilmen who now occupy seats are either incapable of getting the ear of the Council or that they have not prepared a Bill or produced such resolutions that would cause the Council to act favorably upon their measures.

Attention is called to Eighteenth

Avenue from Jefferson Street to Beuna Vista; Sixteenth Avenue from Jo Johnson to Jefferson, and from Jefferson running north to Beuna Vista; Harrison Street Jackson St., Fourteenth Avenue and many other cross streets, as well as through streets are almost in an impassible condition. Just to what extent this conference on the part of the voters in the two wards will materialize in either bringing results from the present Councilmen or in grooming others to take their place, coming city election, or whether they could not be ascertained. Many are ent incumbents, so it is said. This practically a death trap; that it is hesitancy and this indecision on their too narrow to accommodate the part, it is claimed, is due to the fact that some feel that their not properly looked after and that their Councilmen are not particularly interested in the condition of the wards, when it comes to the poorly improved streets, the narrow thoroughfares, the dark alleys and the failure to have sewers in that part of Nashville which is densely populated with property owners. operation of the second ward voters, It is further claimed by the residents and tax payers in the wards that their impotuning and their repeated requests to their Councilmen to bring them some relief have gone without the desired result. It was that A. and I. State College, Fisk stated last week that that section of University and the new improved the second and third wards between Buchanan Street on the north and Jo Johnson Avenue and Church St. on the south, is being overlooked; that there are perhaps only two or three cross streets in the entire two wards that are really passible. They claim that street-widening and street-paving are necessary to be done and that other sections of the city not so much traversed, are getting the attention. Some feel that it is due to the forwardness on the part of the Councilmen from those wards who seem to get what they want in the city Council.

Failure To Pay Poll Tax And Register

CITIZENS OF THIS STATE DISQUALIFYING THEM- SELVES ON ACCOUNT OF NEGLECT

"Art. XIII.—1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

"2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

"Art. XIV.—Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States. Nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

"Section 11.—Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But whenever the right to vote at any election for electors of President and Vice-President, or for United States Representatives in Congress executive and judicial officers, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state."

"Section 111—No person shall be senator or representative in Congress elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under

any state, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any state legislature or as an executive or judicial officer of any state, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof; but Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each House, remove such disability."

"Section IV.—The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for the payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned; but neither the United States nor any state shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims should be held illegal and void."

"Art. XV.—1. The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation."

People born in America who have attained their majority, or those who come from other countries and become naturalized American citizens can automatically disfranchise themselves by their failure to pay their poll tax and register. "These facts are undeniable," said a citizen of this city last week, in discussing the tragedy which he said is apparent on account of the lack of interest of men and women of this city who neglect the paying of their poll tax and who do not embrace the opportunity given them to register and become voters. He declared that you cannot neglect one and yet claim the privilege to exercise the franchise. "You should do both, and do them in sufficient time to win this privilege and to have this honor which is held so sacred to the American citizen," said this citizen. He then declared: "You will face taxation without representation unless you comply with the laws. You will automatically disfranchise yourself if you neglect these two. You

will have no voice in selecting the men en an oath as a member of Congress and women who will control cities, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any state legislature or as an executive or judicial officer of any state, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof; but Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each House, remove such disability."

He said he had no reference to the Democratic Primary, because they are a Party Organization, but that he was addressing himself strictly to the regular election where the voice of the people is supreme, where the electorate exercises its right and privilege to cast a ballot for those individuals standing on Party platforms, and who before being inducted into office take an oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States and to exercise their official duties in a way commendable to every section of the country, and especially of the locality, and the position that they are elected to and where they are to serve.

He then commented upon the lethargy which seems apparent right here in this city on the part of members of the race, to pay their poll tax and register, he stated: "There are perhaps, 10,000 qualified men and women in this city who, if they were so inclined, could become voters. This vast number would augment the vote of this Davidson County to a much larger number, and would in all probability, select by their vote representatives and officers who would realize as well as recognize their responsibility in office. Tennessee has never had a qualification in race or color, nor has it ever been anxious to be so strictly partisan that it would penalize any individual because of their having been born in any foreign country, or being a member of any particular nationality, race, organization or religious body."

"This states, said he, 'has endeavored to exemplify the spirit of the famous Declaration of Independence, especially that preamble in the beginning or early part of it, which says: 'We believe all men are created equal.'"

He asked that The Nashville Globe join in with him and others in a very definite campaign of education, to see that the women who are favored and who are permitted to before voters by the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, pay their poll tax and register, and that the men who have always, since the Emancipation Proclamation, and since the

Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution were enforced, held this privilege, do not forfeit it.

His last statement was, "You cannot claim full citizenship unless you qualify by paying your poll tax and registering in time to vote at each and every election."

Political - 1929

Suffrage
NEW YORK TIMES

MAY 22 1929

SUES OVER PRIMARY LAW.

Texas Negro Physician Questions
Qualification Provisions.

EL PASO, Texas, May 21 (P).—The validity of a State law empowering political parties to prescribe the qualifications of primary election voters, thus barring negroes if desired, is questioned in a suit filed here by L. A. Nixon, El Paso negro physician, against election officials for their alleged refusal to allow him to vote last August.

Dr. Nixon's efforts to "enforce his rights as a citizen" date back to 1925, when a State law prohibiting negroes from voting in primary elections was enacted. His suit in Federal Court that year was dismissed by Judge Duval West, but the United States Supreme Court reversed the decision and the plaintiff was awarded \$1 damages.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, through its secretary, James Weldon Johnson, announced yesterday that it was financing the legal contest brought in Texas by L. A. Nixon of El Paso.

Mr. Johnson said that "these cases constitute the first blow struck in a campaign to procure for the negro the vote throughout the South."

The law passed by the Texas Legislature, which is being contested, is regarded by the association as a subterfuge to get around the Supreme Court's decision in the first case.

SUES OVER VOTE LAW

Texas Physician Backed by
N. A. A. C. P. in Fight
For Right

Special to the St. Louis Argus

EL PASO, Tex., May 23—What constitutes the first blow struck in a campaign to procure for the Colored American the right to vote throughout the South was struck here Tuesday when L. A. Nixon filed a suit questioning the validity of a State law empowering political parties to prescribe the qualifications of primary election vo-

ters. The suit is against election officials for their alleged refusal to allow him to vote last August.

Dr. Nixon started his fight in 1925. His suit was dismissed but the U. S. Supreme Court reversed the decision awarding him \$1. The N. A. A. C. P. is financing the present suit saying the Texas Legislature has created a subterfuge to get around the Supreme Court's decision.

ACCUSED OF BEING A "NIGGER-LOVER"

"Strange things will happen sometime" is the oft repeated statement when speaking of events in human affairs. But the statement coming from the Republican National Committee man of Texas, accusing another white man from the Lone Star State of being a "nigger-lover," is among the strangest of strange things which happens now and then.

From the best information we have on the subject, it appears that Rene B. Creager, the Republican National Committee man from Texas, is under investigation by the Senatorial Investigating Committee who is looking into the alleged sale of federal jobs by members of the Republican National Committee in some of the southern states.

It is charged that Creager has handled more than a hundred thousand dollars "patronage" money in the state and that he fears the results of a federal investigation.

It so happens that one of the witnesses against him is a white man who has the support and following of many Negroes; hence, in order to discredit whatever testimony this man, Harvey Beck, might give against him, Creager has daubed him as a "nigger-lover," and thereby hopes to prejudice the minds of the Investigating Committee to such an extent that they will overlook the real issue and the guilty may escape.

It would be interesting to us to know just what the relations between white and colored men are that make the former a "nigger-lover." It seems in the Texas case, that the Negroes chose to follow Beck instead of Creager, so Beck is the "nigger-lover." We suppose that if the Negroes followed Creager instead of Beck, Creager would be the "nigger-lover;" thus the "boogaboo" which has no particular meaning.

Of course the committee, under the leadership of Senator Brookhart of Iowa, will not be influenced by the efforts of Creager to cloud the issue, but will go right ahead in its investigation.

Texas.

REAL CITIZENS OR CIVIC SLACKERS?

From all indications, 1930 promises to be a red-hot political year; and yet only those persons will be permitted to vote in the various primaries and elections who pay their poll tax or secure their exemption certificate before February 1, 1930.

There is no earthly reason for any American citizen, be he or she black or white, Jew or Gentile, to procrastinate in the payment of the poll tax or by continually putting off the performance of this holden duty, fail to qualify as an elector for 1930.

The Informer wishes to sound a clarion note of warning to the colored constituency of Texas; for, with the Republicans being compelled by state statute to conduct a primary and the Democrats in a frame of mind to throw open their doors to all qualified voters, it appears as if the colored voters will have a real chance to occupy a strategic position and wield a balance of power in some of these political battles that appear in the offing for next year.

Aside from the biennial state primary and election, there will be many local issues in the various communities and municipalities of the state to be settled at the polls during 1930, such as bond issues, school board elections, et cetera.

The man or woman without a vote during 1930, will have no voice in the affairs of his or her community or state; that is, he or she will have no voice that counts, for talking amounts to little where other folks have the votes and exercise their elective franchise rights whenever an election of any sort is held.

Our people often complain (and justifiably, too) that we are not accorded our rights as citizens in many respects, and that our racial group is always neglected in civic matters or given scant and small consideration; but if our people qualified in larger numbers as voters and then would go to the polls on election days and cast their ballot intelligently and concertedly, there would be a tremendous change in sentiment toward and treatment of the colored citizenry of Houston, Texas and the South.

The Informer does not pose as a political prophet or wise-acre, but this paper does believe in the doctrine of preparedness, and, therefore, urges every colored man and woman in Texas to qualify as a voter for 1930, either by payment of the poll tax or securing an exemption certificate before February 1, 1930.

Even if you are not able to pay your state and county taxes before the time limit expires for their payment without an additional penalty, you should stretch a point and pay your poll tax now and thus get ready for all the elections of 1930.

One can pay his or her poll tax without paying the state and county taxes, but one can not pay his or her state and county taxes without paying his or her poll tax at the same time unless the poll tax has been previously paid.

Let us be real citizens and not civic slackers! PAY YOUR POLL TAX OR SECURE YOUR EXEMPTION CERTIFICATE RIGHT NOW!!

Second Texas White Primary Case Ready For Supreme Court

TEXAS PRIMARY CASE IS FILED

New York—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has sent \$500 to Fred C. Knollenberg, El Paso attorney who is preparing an appeal to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in the Second Texas White Primary Case, which may reach the U. S. Supreme Court. The N. A. A. C. P. also sent \$300 to cover the appeal bond in the case.

The first Texas White Primary Case established that no state by law may bar colored citizens from voting in the primary elections. The present case contests the right of party committee to do by means of enabling act what the state is prohibiting from doing.

The Virginia Primary case in which James O. West, of Richmond recently was awarded nominal damages of \$5.00 in his suit against Democratic judges of his election precinct, who refused to permit him to vote in the August Primary, also is expected to go before the Supreme Court for a definite decision on the issues presented.

Judgment was awarded by a jury before Judge D. Lawrence Groner in the United States District Court of the Second District of Virginia, and an appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals has been noted by the Commonwealth.

Second Texas Primary Case Filed In U. S. Court Of Appeals

New York—Fred C. Knollenberg, retained by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as counsel in the second Texas White Primary Case (Nixon v. Condon and Knolle), arising out of an attempt to bar Negro voters from the primaries thru action of state party committees, advises the N. A. A. C. P. that the case has now been filed in the United States District Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit.

The first Texas White Primary Case established the unconstitutionality of the law barring Negroes from the primaries. The second case, which may go on appeal to the United States Supreme Court is expected to outlaw the barring of Negro voters from primaries by party committee.

NEW YORK, Nov. 27.—Fred C. Knollenberg, retained by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as counsel in the second Texas White Primary case (Nixon v. Condon and Knolle), arising out of an attempt to bar Negro voters from the primaries through action of the state party committee, advises that the case has now been filed in the United States District Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit.

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Political-1929

Virginia

Supra

Virginia Press Comments On Judge Groner's Democratic Primary Ruling

Norfolk Journal and Guide

"There Are The Formidable Statutory Obstacles of the Registration, Educational and Capitation Tax Requirements."

Which Seeks To Bar Negroes From Participation In Democratic Primaries."

From The (Norfolk) Virginian-Pilot

What was apparent to nearly everybody that gave serious thought to the matter two years ago, is now affirmed by Judge D. Lawrence Groner, of the United States District Court, in a decision growing out of an action brought on behalf of a Richmond Negro Democrat who was denied the right to participate in a recent primary. Since the decision is on all fours with the identical holding of the United States Supreme Court on an identical issue, and since, furthermore, it squares with elemental rules of popular, representative government, it may as well be conceded at once that our primary law, in so far as it seeks to make primary elections exclusive Caucasian affairs, is definitely invalidated as violative of the Fifteenth Amendment. * * * There is no evidence at all that Virginia Negroes entertain any consuming ambition to affiliate with the Democratic party. On the contrary, it is the prevailing tendency of Negro voters to fraternize with the Republicans, even though Virginia Republicanism, in recent years, has undergone a fairly complete bleaching. In addition to this wholly volitional obstacle to a Negro inundation of the Democratic party, there are the formidable statutory obstacles of the registration, educational and capitation tax requirements. Finally, it is worth reflecting that Democratic office-seekers who are not averse to receiving Negro votes in general elections, should have no particular repugnance to receiving Negro votes in primary elections. It is a troubled problem that is broached here, but because it is troubled is no reason for running away from it. No one watching the changing scene can fail to see that a gradual increase in the number of Negro voters is inevitable. It seems to the Virginian-Pilot better for everybody concerned that these new voters shall divide between the two major parties and make themselves felt in support of general party principles and programs, than that they shall be driven by rigid exclusion from nominating elections to form protective racial groups throwing their weight, as such, in general elections to the party politician making the season's most demagogic appeal for their support.

"All The Rules of The Democratic Party Plan Are Still In Effect, Except That

From the Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch

No doubt, the decision of Judge D. Lawrence Groner, of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, holding that the Democratic primary law of Virginia contravenes the Constitution of the United States, amazes and shocks many of the rank and file of the Democratic party. Yet when the Supreme Court of the United States, on March 7, 1927, handed down its opinion in the Texas case, it forecast the eventual denial of the validity of the Democratic primary law of Virginia in just such a case as Judge Groner decided yesterday—and in just such a calm and reasoned opinion.

The actual practical effect of this decision, then, is not far-reaching—or certainly is not far-reaching at this time. * * *

It is generally understood, it is assumed, that no person may participate in a primary in Virginia—whether Caucasian, African or Indian—who is not qualified in every respect to participate in a general election. Conversely, of course, no person who is not qualified to participate in a general election may participate in a primary election.

Now, in addition to this general restriction, the Democratic party, by virtue of the power vested in it by statute, sets up other restrictions on participation in its primaries which are lawful. These have been discussed and debated at great length recently, as a result of the Anti-Smith movement notably. They relate to such matters as having voted the Democratic ticket at the next preceding general election, or giving a tacit pledge to support the Democratic nominees at the next general election and the like.

Not a single one of these restrictions has been broken down by the decision of Judge Groner. Educational qualifications, poll-tax prepayment, registration and all the other requirements prescribed by the state law are still in effect. And all the rules of the Democratic party plan are still in effect, except, to repeat, that which seeks to bar Negroes from participation in Democratic primaries.

"Political Parties May Decide To Make Their Nominations Independent of State Control."

From the Richmond Times-Dispatch

After all, Judge Groner of the United States District Court, in the opinion he rendered yesterday did not consider specifically the at-

titude of the Democratic party in Virginia toward permitting Negroes to participate in its primaries. The question before him was a much broader one than that. In the final analysis, the rule adopted five years ago by the Norfolk convention, under which members of the colored race are barred from Democratic primaries, was merely the cause of war against the statutory authorizations, which the court has found to be in conflict with the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution.

In the opinion of Judge Groner, the Virginia law covering these primaries goes too far when it recognizes a discriminatory test for voting which curtails the equal suffrage rights guaranteed by the fundamental law of the land. His decision would have been the same if the party carried out at the polls a rule under which only men could cast ballots. It would apply to a case where a member of a certain sect or creed, otherwise qualified to vote, had been denied the privilege. The fact that the complaint was brought by a Negro who had been barred from a Richmond primary, is not so important, save in so far as it affects a policy of the Democratic party. The law which does not mention the matter of race is held to be unconstitutional.

Counsel for defendants in the case have indicated their intention to appeal. If the decision of Judge Groner is upheld in the higher court, or courts, the General Assembly either will be called upon to amend the primary law or the political parties will decide to make their nominations independent of State control. Conventions or primaries held purely under party regulations, of course, may set up any standards they choose. Otherwise discriminatory tests are likely to lead them into difficulties.

"Would Not A Convention Which Barred Negroes Equally Violate The Principles of The Federal Constitution."

From the Richmond News-Leader

A momentous decision was handed down today by Judge D. Lawrence Groner, of the United States district court. The court held that Negro Democrats have a legal right to vote in the Democratic primaries of this State. The decision is probably based, in part at least, on the opinion of the supreme court of the United States in the Texas case. In that opinion the high federal tribunal pointed out that the Texas primary law barring Negroes was in contravention of the provisions of the federal constitution.

Virginia Democratic leaders felt that the principles announced in the Texas case would not apply to primaries in this state inasmuch as our primary laws do not, by their terms, bar Negroes, the matter of eligibility to vote in a Democratic primary being left largely to the discretion of the party authorities. But as to this, after pointing out that the statutes of this state give equal rights of suffrage in

primaries as well as in general election, Judge Groner says:

"That a law which recognizes or which authorizes a discriminatory test or standard does curtail and subvert them; there can be no doubt, and such a law is therefore in conflict with the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the constitution of the United States."

Judge Groner seems to have given much careful study to the question at issue, and his decision may be affirmed by the court of final resort. If so, does this mean that the Democratic party in Virginia will return to the convention method of nominating? Even so, would not a convention which barred Negroes equally violate the principles of the federal constitution, as such a primary that, under our laws, leaves eligibility to the party authorities?

"No Thought of Violating Fourteenth Or Fifteenth Amendment, or of Evading Them."

From (Petersburg) Progress-Index

The New York World, discussing Judge Groner's decision holding the Virginia democratic primary law unconstitutional, in that it bars Negroes, says the decision is in line with one rendered in March, 1927, by the Supreme Court of the United States, when it set aside the primary law of Texas on the same ground. The World adds: "Both these laws were designed frankly to nullify the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments."

The democratic primary law of Virginia had no such object. The general assembly enacted a general law under which any political party may select candidates for office by means of primary elections. The law is not mandatory in this respect. The democratic party chose to use the primary method and the party in State convention adopted certain regulations setting forth the manner in which this method should be employed in selecting candidates. One of these regulations provided that only white voters should be allowed to participate. Although Judge Groner has held, and probably properly, that in restricting the electorate in party primary contests to members of the white race the Virginia democratic party extended or sought to extend the application of a State law to deprive one class of citizens of the right of suffrage, there is no the faintest reason to believe that any democrat responsible in any degree for the adoption of this regulation excluding Negroes had any thought of violating the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments or of evading them.

The truth is, The New York World for years has been obsessed with the idea that the Southern States, through the use of "grandfather" clauses, educational qualifications for voters and other means, have disfranchised members of the colored race within the meaning of the fourteenth and fifteenth amend-

ments and that the Federal government should do something about it.

6-13-29
"Will Naturally Go On Appeal From The United States District Court Over Which Judge Groner Presides, To The United States Court of Appeals."

From The Portsmouth Star

Judge Groner's decision at Richmond today that the Virginia primary election laws stand contrary to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, will of course have no bearing upon the coming Democratic gubernatorial primary of August 6th, because the case will naturally go on appeal from the United States Court over which Judge Groner presides, to the United States Court of Appeals, and from there, if that court affirms Judge Groner, to the Supreme Court of the United States, before there can be any actual effect upon the operation of the Virginia primary statutes.

But even though this may be true the Anti-Smith and Republican Coalitionists who are planning to take the next state election and assume the reins of government in Virginia, may attempt to find comfort in the court's decision and even further attempt presentation of this as another reason—in addition to Bishop Cannon's plea to followers to remain out of the primary—why voters should hold aloof from the primary and thus not only place themselves in position to vote in the November general election for Coalitionist candidates to be named by the Anti-Smithites at Roanoke June 18 and by the Republicans at Richmond June 26th.

"There Is Much To Be Said, However, On Both Sides of the Question On Which Judge Groner Ruled, And There Is A Fighting Chance Yet That The Higher Court May Not Sustain Him."

From The (Newport News) Daily Press

That the case will be taken to the United States Supreme Court appears certain, and we trust that a decision will be rendered in the near future in order that the Democratic primary may be legalized if such is not at present the case.

Should Judge Groner be upheld by the higher court, the Legislature very probably will be called upon to amend the primary law or political parties will decide to make their nominations independent of State control. Conventions or primaries held purely under party regulations may make such rules as they choose, for the ruling of a political organization occupies a different status from a ruling which has as its foundation an act of the General Assembly.

There is much to be said, however, on both sides of the question on which Judge Groner ruled, and there is a fighting chance yet that the higher court may not sustain him.

The Primary Law Invalidated

6-13-29
WHEN Judge D. Lawrence Groner in United States District Court declared the State primary law which restricted participation in Democratic party primaries to white voters violative of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments another barrier to full exercise of the suffrage on the part of qualified Negro voters was removed. Therein lies the importance of the decision to Negro citizens. The Democratic party primary rule was obviously set up to place certain disabilities upon qualified Negro voters. They should have no voice nor power in the selection of those who were to be voted for in the general elections, which were, in view of political conditions existing at the time of the adoption of the primary rule, mere ratifications of what took place in the primary. The disfranchisement of those qualifying under the rigid general election laws was thereby accomplished. Under the one-party system until recently paramount in Virginia and other Southern States the Negro voter had to surmount a double barrier in order to make a ballot mean anything.

Judge Groner's decision, does not mean, however, that there will be an influx of Negro voters into the Democratic primaries. While the trend among the younger and more open-minded members of the race is away from entire allegiance to the Republican party, a large majority of those qualified to vote are still Republicans. It is very difficult to convince members of our group that are past forty years of age that we do not owe, collectively, a very sacred obligation to the Republican party. Changes in doctrine, practice and policy, which the Republican party has undergone in the past two decades, make no difference with them. It makes no difference even, that the Republicans in Virginia have accomplished by different methods precisely what the Democrats had the candor to give legal status to. So the Democrats need not fear that there will be any considerable accretions to their ranks by reason of the court's decision. If steps are not taken to circumvent the decision, along the lines now practiced by Republicans, the Democratic party will eventually stand on par with the Republican party of the State where the qualified Negro vote is concerned. And if present trends in State politics may be taken as an index of what the future holds the Democrats can ill afford to spurn any votes from whatever legitimate source they may come.

The case under which the decision was rendered, while instigated by a member of the race who wished to vote in the Democratic primary, was just another step in our persistent recourse to the courts to obtain the full benefits of the protection afforded us in the duties and responsibilities of citizenship imposed by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. The chief concern of the race today is economic security. Anything that contravenes these amendments operates to reduce that security. All legislation which operates to remove any group of the population in a democratic form of government from having any influence whatsoever in the processes of government also operates to reduce that group to economic insufficiency. Witness the Atlanta barbership law, as just one example. Political dominance nor even balance of power is necessary to insure economic justice. Political influence often serves the purpose. No one in America can fail to see the analogy between the proper use of the ballot and economic security. Same is true of social justice. This premise may not be scientific but it is American history.

So the real significance of Judge Groner's decision, so far as the Negro is concerned, is not that it opens a heretofore closed party primary to his participation, but that it gives virility to the organic law upon which rests his main hope for economic survival.

WHITE PRIMARIES BANNED

6-13-29
A federal judge holds unconstitutional the Virginia law, under which the democrats of that state tried to limit voting in party primaries to whites. This decision follows the precedent set in Texas. It is in keeping with the better thinking of democrats like those in Arkansas. It is the letter and the spirit of the United States constitution.

The efforts spent in keeping race lines up between groups of citizens engaged in a common duty or privilege is pure waste. It has been carried on in the past largely because the people of this country were more disposed to look back at the origin and previous condition of Negroes, than to look forward to their possibilities. Participation in party primaries is as wholesome as voting in general elections. In states like Virginia and Texas, where one party controls, it is even more essential. Unless it be better for government to be carried on by a part of the people dictating to the rest, universal suffrage is inescapable, the one and only system that expresses the American principle of a government of the people by the people.

It is the men of little wit and less courage who try to win out by limiting

competition. The white voter in Virginia confesses his own weakness and his lack of faith in the government by attempting an all-white party. It is fortunate that the law, which is the sum total of wisdom of civilization as it has evolved in America, prevents his folly from doing its worst. The sooner the Negro is out of politics as an issue in the South, the sooner Virginia and other southern states will have a chance for leadership such as they once had in the days of George Washington and Patrick Henry.

WHITE PRIMARIES DENIED

(Atlanta Constitution)

In the federal district court at Richmond, in a case brought by a Negro Democrat because, being fully qualified as a state voter, he was denied the right to vote in the Democratic primary, Judge Grover decided that a "white primary" is unconstitutional.

In his decision the jurist said: "The state may not provide otherwise than for equal right of suffrage in the primary as in the general election. This the statute does and if this was all there would be no ground for complaint, but it goes further and recognizes and enforces the right of a political party to prescribe qualifications forbidden under the fifteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States. This a state may not do."

The decision seems to be constitutionally correct and in line with the decision of the supreme court in the *Morely* case from Texas wherein the right of a Negro Democrat to vote in the party's statewide primary was upheld.

These cases fix the principle that a state cannot authorize a primary and then fix a qualification for voters in it on the basis of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." In other words, if a Negro is a qualified voter, and claims to be a Democrat in party principles and allegiance, he cannot be lawfully denied the right to vote in a primary that the state authorizes the party to hold. That all there is in the issue

Political - 1929

Suffrage

NEW YORK HERALD

JUN 6 1929

Virginia's Curb On Negro Vote Is Held Illegal

U. S. Judge Groner Decides
Primary Law Violates the
14th, 15th Amendments

May Go to Supreme Court

Ruling, if Sustained, Invali-
dates Other States' Statutes

Special to the Herald Tribune

RICHMOND, Va., June 5.—The Virginia primary law is in contradiction of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the Constitution of the United States which provides that no citizen shall be deprived of his right to vote because of race, color or previous condition of servitude, Judge D. Lawrence Groner ruled today in United States District Court.

As a result, Virginia's primary law, which prescribes certain qualifications for voters, probably will be the subject of a test case in the Supreme Court of the United States and if the District Court's ruling is sustained would overturn the primary laws of several other Southern states.

Rules in Negro's Suit

The opinion was handed down today in case of James O. West, Negro Democrat, against A. C. Bliley, William Boltz judges, and William Ricker, clerk of the First Precinct of Madison Ward.

West claimed \$5,000 damages because precinct officials refused to permit him to vote in the last Democratic primary. To this plea the state, through Leon M. Bazile, Assistant Attorney General, filed a demurrer which Judge Groner overruled today.

Wilmer O'Flaherty, secretary of the Election Board of Richmond and of counsel for the defendants, said the case probably will be taken next to Federal Circuit Court of Appeals, ultimately reaching United States Supreme Court.

Discusses Constitutionality

Going into detail as to constitutionality of the primary law, Judge Groner held that the state may not provide otherwise than for equal rights of suffrage in primary as well as in the general election.

"This the statute does," he said, "and if this was all there would be no

ground for complaint, but it goes further and recognizes and enforces right of a political party to prescribe qualifications forbidden under the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This a state does."

He said he was a qualified Democrat who voted in previous general and in primaries held prior to amendment of the present primary law. Action was brought "to recover damages for refusal of the defendant to permit the plaintiff to vote in above-mentioned primary (April 3, 1928), solely because he was a Negro."

West set forth that by every standard of citizenship and by every qualification of the Democratic party, other than that of race and color, he had the right to cast a ballot in a legalized primary election. The plaintiff held that the party rule by which he was barred was adopted pursuant to the state primary law, and consequently it represented discrimination in violation of the Federal Constitution.

Recalls Texas Law Challenge

WASHINGTON, June 5 (AP).—The decision of Federal Judge Groner holding the Virginia primary law contrary to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the Constitution recalled here that a primary election law of Texas denying Negroes participation in Democratic primaries in that state was declared invalid by the Supreme Court in March, 1927.

The opinion, delivered by Justice Holmes in a case brought by L. A. Nixon, Negro, who was excluded from voting at a Democratic primary in El Paso, held that the Constitution denied the states the power to withhold from Negroes equal protection of the law whether Negro or white, shall stand equally before the law of the states.

Stating that there must be no discrimination because of color, the opinion declared that Texas attempted to forbid Negroes from taking part in a primary election because of color alone.

NEWS
STAUNTON, VA.

JUN 12 1929

Aliens And Negroes In Reapportionment

There may be good argument for excluding aliens from the census enumeration of 1930 which, under the constitution, is required to be used for reapportioning the membership of the house of representatives. But it is not an argument that Southern members of congress can urge with safety, even though the non-counting of unnaturalized aliens would in-

crease the ten Southern states representation in congress from 94 to 98. The threatened application of the same principle to the non-voting Negroes of the South, who are excluded from the fran-

chise because they are unable to meet the tests imposed by the states, would result in a far greater loss in congressional membership than the non-counting of aliens would enable us to gain.

That would be a poor swap. Since the number of a state's electoral votes depends on the number of its representatives in congress, it may or may not be that the thirty-five or forty representatives created by counting the unnaturalized foreigners in the North and West, hold in a sense, the balance of power in congress. But better so than that the Anglo-Saxon South should be deprived of a single representative to which its intelligence and importance entitles it.

VIRGINIAN-PILOT
NORFOLK, VA.

JUN 7 1929

PRIMARY DECISION IS CAUSING LITTLE WORRY IN NORFOLK

Far-reaching Effect In Principle Recognized; Practical Application Negligible

FEW NEGRO DEMOCRATS
REGISTERED VOTERS

The decision of Federal Judge D. Lawrence Groner, declaring the Virginia primary law invalid because it prevents the Negro from participating in the Democratic party nominating election, was the main topic of discussion among politicians yesterday, and while the far-reaching effect of the decision in principle was recognized, its practical application did not appear to carry much importance locally.

Negroes have constituted a negligible factor in local politics in recent years.

Almost universally they have voted the Republican ticket, and while of course they could not participate in the Democratic primary if they had so desired, few if any of them have appeared so inclined, according to men who have observed the operation of political machinery here for generations.

A complete count of the names on the city's registration books up to last December 31 shows only 1,856 Negroes registered in all precincts out of a total of 34,357 registrants of both races. This does not give anything like an accurate index to the number of Negroes qualified to vote, because under the peculiar state law on the subject no name is allowed to be taken off the poll books except on the authority of a death certificate. There are on the poll books the names of some thousands of persons who are either removed from the city or dead, but their names must remain there until the proper credentials are submitted.

A somewhat more accurate check on the Negro voting strength is shown in the poll tax books, although the accuracy of that check may be attacked through the fact that many Negroes who have paid their poll taxes have not registered to vote. Particularly is this true under the State law which provides that no person can obtain any license of any character without first paying the capitation tax.

Last year, when the largest qualified voting list in the city's history was recorded, the poll tax books showed 742 Negroes with the necessary three-years taxes paid. This year that number has been reduced to 578. Only 890 Negroes have paid the poll tax for 1928.

Not all Negroes, however, vote the Republican ticket in Norfolk. This is indicated by the fact that in the election of last year the Twenty-first Precinct, mostly colored, turned in a vote of 33 for J. T. Deal, Democrat, and 115 for Menalcus Lankford, Republican candidate for Congress. There are only about fourteen or fifteen white votes in that precinct, and if the Democratic candidate had received them all—which is unlikely—he still would have had about twenty-four Negro votes. In that same precinct the Democratic candidate for President got 49 votes, while the Republican candidate got 90.

Capt. C. E. Pettis, chairman of the city electoral board and a veteran politician in Norfolk, stated yesterday that he had never seen any desire on the part of Negroes to vote the Democratic ticket in Norfolk. He said that Negroes had naturally gone to the Republican party, and that he had never received a report from any election official that a Negro had applied to vote in a primary and had been denied the privilege.

Politicians were talking yesterday about the possibility that the Groner decision might result in a change in the policy of the Democratic party from the primary plan to the convention plan of selecting candidates. The party then could make the rules governing the convention, to allow Negroes to participate or to bar them, as the party saw fit. It would not be circumscribed by any of the provisions of the Federal Constitution with reference to discrimination against the colored race.

August Primary Not to Be Changed.

Richmond, June 6.—(AP)—Judge D. Lawrence Groner's ruling in United States District Court that the present law is in conflict with the Federal Constitution is not expected to influence the August Democratic primary other than to permit the few Negro Democrats in the State to take part, Democratic leaders said here today.

Leon M. Bazile, assistant attorney general, made no statement today regarding his demurrer which Judge Groner overruled in handing down his decision. His demurrer was to a suit filed some time ago by James O. West, Negro Democrat against primary election officials. West charged that election officials refused him the right to participate in a Democratic primary here in April, 1928, and asked \$5,000 damages.

Democratic leaders expressed the opinion that Judge Groner has not held the Virginia primary law unconstitutional, but rather the administration of it.

Persons familiar with the situation today freely predicted that there will be prompt change in the State primary law and also the Democratic party plan in order to remove the objections cited by Judge Groner yesterday in declaring the law unconstitutional.

LEDGER-DISPATCH
NORFOLK, VA.

JUN 7 1929

OUR INVALID PRIMARY LAW

No doubt, the decision of Judge D. Lawrence Groner, of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, holding that the Democratic primary law of Virginia contravenes the Constitution of the United States, amazes and shocks many of the rank and file of the Democratic party. Yet when the Supreme Court of the United States, on March 7, 1927, handed down its opinion in the Texas case, it forecast the eventual denial of the validity of the Democratic primary law of Virginia in just such a case as Judge Groner decided yesterday—and in just such a calm and reasoned opinion.

In the Texas case, commonly known as the Nixon case, the Supreme Court held that a Texas statute—not a party rule, but a state law—which barred Negroes from participation in Democratic primaries, was violative of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, while in Virginia the exclusion of all save white persons from Democratic primaries is provided for only in the party rules, which, grouped together, form what is known as the party plan. When the Nixon case was decided, that distinction was clearly recognized, but we said at the time:

Unless the Supreme Court's opinion in its entirety in the Texas primary case throws

an altogether different light on the case from that shed by the published excerpts, the primary regulations established by the Democratic party in Virginia are invalid in what has been considered a most important respect. At this moment, it seems certain that the exclusion from Democratic primaries of all except white persons is violative of the law as laid down in the Texas case by the Supreme Court.

It is true that in Texas, according to the excerpts, the statutes of the state confine participation in the primaries in question to white persons, while in Virginia that restriction is set up by party law. But the party laws have been adopted in pursuance of authority conferred by Sections 227 and 228 of the Code of Virginia, as amended. If the General Assembly itself may not, under the decision just reported, enact a law restricting participation in primary elections to white persons, then, it follows that it cannot delegate power to adopt such a resolution to a political party. The result is that the party rule extending the right to vote in primaries only to white persons otherwise qualified is invalid to protect officials who may deny the right to vote to any person on account of color.

Before Judge Groner, in what will be known as the Virginia case or the West case, the issue was sharply defined. It was this: Can the General Assembly vest a group of individuals—a political party, if we like—with authority to adopt restrictions which it cannot itself adopt, under the Federal Constitution, and in the act thus delegating authority provide that such restrictions shall have the force of law? That in effect, was precisely the question before Judge Groner.

The General Assembly of Virginia has never attempted to confine participation in any primaries to white persons; but it has provided, and does still provide: "Each party shall have the power to make its own rules and regulations . . ." Then, as is commonly known, the primary system in Virginia sets up legalized primaries. That means, of course, that the primary machinery operates under the enforceable direction of the state—of the General Assembly. And since party rules and regulations create the primary machinery, in part, it follows that these party rules and regulations become state laws which are designed to control the primary machinery. But the Constitution of the United States says that laws of this character may not be enacted by any state. Just there, Judge Groner holds:

The General Assembly of Virginia having provided for the primary as a method (though optional) for the nomination of candidates and the Supreme Court of Virginia having declared it when adopted an inseparable part of the election machinery, it would seem necessarily to follow that the Legislature cannot by delegation or otherwise give validity to a claimed right which it is itself prohibited by the Constitution from enacting into law . . .

To the Ledger-Dispatch, the logic of that reasoning and conclusion seems inexorable—whatever the effect of the decision may be. At the moment, it would seem that the only possible way of continuing to confine participation in primaries to white persons, if that is considered

necessary, would be to abolish the formally legalized primary, to rid it of the sanction of the state, to deprive it of such safeguards as the state throws about it, and to convert it into a literally private affair in so far as the state was concerned. If that course were followed, we take it, the state, the Federal government and the courts would have no more control over it than they have over who should be admitted to membership in a fraternal or beneficial order.

RECORD WILKES-BARRE, PA.

JUN 8 1929

Barring the Negro Vote

A decision by the United States District Court in Richmond invalidating an act of the Virginia Legislature which was used by the Democratic party organization for excluding Negroes from the exercise of franchise rights is so plainly in line with the federal Constitution that there can be no question as to its correctness.

The act of the Legislature gave political parties the right to make their own rules for the primaries. Such delegation of authority is not illegal, provided that it does not per-

mit anything that is in violation of the Constitution, but the provisions of the federal Constitution must be observed, of course, in establishing rules by which elections in the various States are to be conducted. Negroes are entitled to the same franchise rights as are accorded to any other class of voters. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments give guarantees that must be observed in all of the States.

A State may establish certain qualifications for voting. It may exclude from the franchise persons who cannot pass a literacy test. It may exclude persons who are not property owners. But a State cannot discriminate because of color or religious affiliation or previous condition of servitude. It is true in some Southern States Negroes are practically disfranchised but either specific cases of discrimination have not been carried to the Supreme Court in a rigid test or the discrimination is accomplished under laws that are not in direct violation of the Con-

stitution, such as the literacy and property owning tests. A Negro may be able to pass a literacy test as well as many white citizens who are permitted to vote but election officers are the judges of qualification and they draw the line without admitting intentional discrimination.

The District Court's decision in the Virginia case merely upholds the constitutional mandate against denial of the right to vote where exclusion of a certain race or sect is the plain purpose of the law.

REPUBLICAN FRESNO, CALIF.

JUN 8 1929

Race Struggles Over False Issues

The decision of the Federal court in a Virginia district invalidating the law of that state to prevent Negroes from registering for Democratic primaries, brings out another instance of people's fighting over trifles and appearances rather than over the substance of civic and political rights.

It is very questionable whether the victory for the Negroes in this case, should it be affirmed in the court of highest appeal, will be worth fighting for. While, on the contrary, this sort of a decision at law may be of very questionable value in political matters where the race issue is not at stake.

It appears that in Virginia a law was passed by the legislature providing that any political party could determine for itself what sort of citizens should join the party. The obvious purpose of this was to prevent Negroes from registering as Democrats and so joining in the decision of who should be elected to office in that state. For in Virginia, as in virtually all of the states of the South, a Democratic nomination is virtually an election.

However, the law itself is merely a gesture, a matter of race feeling. For under no possible circumstances could Negro votes gain control of the Democratic party in Virginia. The only possible effect of the few Negro votes that might register as Democrats would be to have Democratic politicians compete for a few Negro votes in a close contest. It is quite likely that it is to prevent just this sort of competition that the law was enacted. And the attack of Negro leaders on the law would not be for the sake of preserving

the Negro's right of franchise, nor to give him a better chance of attaining office, but merely to preserve for him a presumed opportunity to be solicited for his vote by one or another competing white official.

For all practical political purposes the law itself is useless, and equally useless to the Negro race is the attack upon the law. Of what value, locally or nationally, is it to preserve a supposed right of a man of any race to vote in a particular party? Understand the question is not of his exercising his rights as a citizen, in voting for officials, but his right to be associated with other men in support of a particular candidate.

The matter was and is, on either side, purely one of "face", not of political results.

The decision, if it were to be applied to political practice generally, might have an evil effect upon democracy in other parts of the United States, where the line of division was not one of race, but of policy or political objective.

One of the things most definitely needed now in the United States is clarity of political purpose. Parties need either to be made to mean something or else to be thrown into the junk heap.

A political party should be voluntary association. It ought not be a forced association.

In the same way a party election ought to be a voluntary relationship, not a forced one.

A general election is not voluntary. It is obligatory in its results. It expresses the "decision" of citizens regarding their demands upon the Government. But a party primary is not thus official. The only purpose of the application of law to a party primary is to see that it is honestly conducted. It is none of the Government's business as to what happens at a party primary. The Government has only police relationship to it, to see that the mechanism of party machinery is honest. Just as the Government has a right to interfere, on request, to see that an election within the Methodist church or the chamber of commerce is honest. The "result" is none of the public's concern.

There are plenty of places in which races touch and irritation arises in which both are right and both are wrong, and the ultimate best interests of the state must be had by letting things work themselves out.

But one thing is certain—good can not come of having race conflicts over trifles. Men in position of leadership and responsibility must work to reduce irritation to a minimum and to promote individual prosperity, rather than prosperity and happiness that depends upon the promotion of one

Continued II

Suffrage

race at the expense of the other. In particular, it is foolish to waste effort on questions of "face" or pride and dignity when the material opportunities, the chance for earning a living, for getting better educations and vocational training, for maintenance of civic and political rights are much more important than matters of front.

TIMES
LOUISVILLE, KY.

JUN 6 1928

ALSO QUITE FOOLISH.

The Virginia law to bar Negroes from participation in Democratic primaries which, in the United States District Court in Richmond, was declared unconstitutional was, in addition, quite foolish.

The Negro problem in the South, insofar as such a problem exists, is, largely, a product of party politics.

If Negroes voted without regard to their color many of them would vote the Democratic ticket. The Republican party has kept the Negroes bound, by a sentiment of loyalty dating back to the emancipation period. They have been in slavery to a party whose principles and policies are not favorable to the class to which, economically, the Negro belongs.

The misguided sponsors of the Virginia Primary law did all they could do to push back into the Republican party every Negro who might feel inclined to cast his lot with the Democratic party. If it be held that Negroes do not vote in good faith in Democratic primaries, and may vote the Republican ticket in general election, such a law as that which has been held unconstitutional hardly was the right means of approach to the problem thus created.

URGES REPEAL OF 14TH, 15TH AMENDMENTS

Virginia Candidate on the Fence

Norfolk, Va.—Dr. W. M. Brown, G. O. P. anti-Smith candidate for governor of Virginia, is being urged by many prejudiced white voters to

adopt a plank in his platform calling for the repeal of the 14th and 15th amendments to the United States Constitution. W. M. Davany Jr., Norfolk attorney, prominent in the anti-Smith movement last fall, is one of the leaders to have Dr. Brown adopt a plank for the repeal of the amendments which mean the right to suffrage for millions of local citizens of this nation.

The reason or necessity for Dr. Brown to make his campaign for governor on repeal of amendments to the federal Constitution is not admitted by his backers, but the gesture is to pacify the anti-Smiths and even many Republicans who have been up in arms over the De Priest-White House tea party and the speeches of Congressman De Priest in the South and elsewhere, urging mixed public schools, abolition of Jim Crow laws and other inequalities practiced upon his people.

Dr. Brown's supporters are not so sure that their candidate will adopt the plank. The candidate is highly educated, studied in Germany and is regarded in educational circles as an "advanced thinker," therefore he may balk at the gesture of disfranchisement and injustice. Both the G. O. P. and anti-Smith conventions adopted platform planks declaring for white supremacy as an offset to the De Priest incident reactions in Virginia.

Georgia and Florida Teachers Organize Club

Hampton, Va.—The Georgia and Florida teachers who are attending the second term of the summer session at Hampton met recently and organized jointly. The present heading is known as the Georgia and Florida club. Those who were chosen as officers are as follows: George W. Conoly of Thomasville, Ga., president; Milton P. Rooks, Jacksonville, Fla., vice president; Mrs. Lillian Matthews Jones of Waycross, Ga., secretary; Miss M. Pauline Davis, Athens, Ga., treasurer, and R. R. Kenon, McDonough, Ga., reporter. Other members of the club are Mrs. E. J. Disroon, Macon, Ga.; Mrs. C. A. Scott, Cordelle, Ga.; Miss Minnie Holly, Albany, Ga.; Miss Gladys Holsey, Fort Valley, Ga.; Mrs. William Burney, Atlanta, Ga.; Miss A. Neeley, Miami, Fla.; Miss Pussley Bell, Waycross, Ga.; Miss M. Richardson, Jacksonville, Fla.; A. C. Phillips, Tallahassee, Fla., and Miss L. Stewart, Jacksonville, Fla.

LEDGER-DISPATCH NORFOLK, VA.

JUL 27 1929

FUSION IN VIRGINIA

All Virginians should be interested in the series of "Governors of Virginia," from the pen of the able and versatile Rev. W. H. T. Squires, another fusion Governor. Colonel Cameron was D. D., appearing in the Ledger-Dispatch each Saturday afternoon.

Dr. Squires started with the first head of the Brown was selected by Bishop Cannon, Bascom

Virginia

Virginia colony at Jamestown Island in 1607 and Slemph, Henry W. Anderson, Bob Angell and Joe has carried the story down to Reconstruction Crupper in Washington a few months ago.

Days following the War Between the States, Dr. Squires from week to week will tell the when the carpetbag government under Horatio Wells and Judge Underwood became so nauseating that President Grant and General Schofield, holding the state as Military District No. 1, abolished what practically amounted to fusion government in Virginia, in which Northern Republicans and Negroes held the commonwealth under iron rule.

Gilbert C. Walker, a New Yorker who had followed the Union army into Norfolk and became a banker of the city, was substituted for the discredited Wells, after the Constitution of 1869 was adopted without the provision that would have barred every Confederate soldier from citizenship. Colonel Walker was elected as a Conservative opposed to carpetbag-Negro domination, but his administration failed on his insistence that the Virginia debt be recognized dollar for dollar and that the state sell its interests in railroads and canals to begin a liquidation of its obligations. The then Governor, so Dr. Squires relates, was reported to be heavily interested in Virginia bonds, and while he was sent to Congress from the Richmond district for several terms after that, he never again became a power in the state.

A revulsion of sentiment came in Walker's administration and Virginia returned to white Democratic rule in 1873 with the election of General Kemper, a gallant Confederate soldier. It is with Kemper's administration that Dr. Squires will deal in next Saturday's installment of the series. Then comes the term of Governor Holladay and the ascendancy of the up-and-

coming Billy Mahone, who, his followers said, had been the choice of General Lee as his successor as commander of the Army of Northern Virginia and who had been prominent in the development of Virginia railroads both before and after the war.

Mahone conceived the fusion movement to gain control of the state, and he paved the way for the selection of the late William E. Cameron, a Confederate soldier and Democrat, as his candidate for Governor on the issue of readjusting the state debt.

The Republican leaders at Washington gave encouragement to Mahone and supported him financially, in much the same way as the fusion leaders in Virginia expect the sinews of war from the coffers of the Republican committee at Washington this fall to saddle the state with another fusion Governor. Colonel Cameron was not a strong or outstanding figure, and was hand-picked in the same manner as Dr. W. M. Brown was selected by Bishop Cannon, Bascom

Virginia colony at Jamestown Island in 1607 and Slemph, Henry W. Anderson, Bob Angell and Joe has carried the story down to Reconstruction Crupper in Washington a few months ago.

Days following the War Between the States, Dr. Squires from week to week will tell the when the carpetbag government under Horatio Wells and Judge Underwood became so nauseating that President Grant and General Schofield, holding the state as Military District No. 1, abolished what practically amounted to fusion government in Virginia, in which Northern Republicans and Negroes held the commonwealth under iron rule.

Gilbert C. Walker, a New Yorker who had followed the Union army into Norfolk and became a banker of the city, was substituted for the discredited Wells, after the Constitution of 1869 was adopted without the provision that would have barred every Confederate soldier from citizenship. Colonel Walker was elected as a Conservative opposed to carpetbag-Negro domination, but his administration failed on his insistence that the Virginia debt be recognized dollar for dollar and that the state sell its interests in railroads and canals to begin a liquidation of its obligations. The then Governor, so Dr. Squires relates, was reported to be heavily interested in Virginia bonds, and while he was sent to Congress from the Richmond district for several terms after that, he never again became a power in the state.

A Primary That Was Not Equivalent To An Election

The anti-Smith party and its recent coalition with the Republicans may have, as the arguments frequently affirm, imprecatory designs upon the present Democratic administration and its justifiable claims to having brought about progress and reform in State government, but it is that is, the coalition is not without something to commend it. Although it may be purely accidental, the coalition has removed the Democratic primary from its long established status of being equivalent to an election. An intra-party primary, in which it is tacitly understood that all voters of any party, except those of ebony hue may participate, is a safe way to hold an election in accordance with certain attitudes held to be social-political necessities, but such a primary does not bring to the State all of the benefits of an election vigorously contested along well-defined competitive party lines. The present coalition of anti-Smith Democrats and lily-white Republicans, may if it is successful, do violence to the short ballot before it gets a chance to demonstrate its worth; and it may reverse the other progressive Byrd policies of State government, but it will have introduced two-party elections on a close scale. Having done this it is hardly to be expected that the innovation will be short-lived. It is rather to be expected that it will be permanent, as most of the issues upon which the anti-Smiths and Republicans are running are very much like some of the issues upon which the Democrats—or rather some Democrats—have run

in the primaries, merely a means to an end. They are not real issues.

In the primary the Democrats polled a few hundred less than 140,000 votes, approximately the same number the party polled last November when it was beaten and the State went Republican. In the two tests the Democrats came out at 140,000. It is reasonable to assume that the Democrats desired and did make an effort to make an impressive showing in the primary in order to demonstrate to the anti-Smiths and Republicans that their task this November would be more difficult than it was last. The results were illuminating but not inspiring. There are more than 300,000 white voters in the State and if the Democrats do not have but 140,000 of them the coalition has the rest. It is easy, therefore, to figure out that the primary is for the present, at least, not equivalent to an election.

NEGRO BARRED FROM VOTING IN VA. SUES JUDGES.

NORFOLK, Va., Aug. 22—Suit for \$10,000 damages against three judges in Tuesday's Democratic primary in Newport News was instituted in United States District court here today by J. E. Briggs, a race citizen of that city, who alleges that he is a Democrat but was deprived of his right to vote. The defendants are H. H. Richardson, C. H. Hicks and Harry Cohen.

J. S. Briggs of Newport News was refused and denied the right to vote in the Democratic primary election of August 6, solely on account of his color and in gross violation of the provisions of the United States and Virginia Constitutions, according to the declaration filed here this week with Judge D. Lawrence Groner of the United States District Court by Attorney J. Thomas Newsome, also of Newport News, and counsel for the plaintiff.

Mr. Briggs, through his attorney, filed a memorandum immediately following the refusal of Newport News primary officials to allow him to vote and asked \$10,000 damages.

The defendants in the case are C. G. Ricks, R. H. Richardson and Harry Cohen, all white.

Attorney Newsome avers in the declaration that his client had for a long time been a loyal Democrat in good and regular standing, having in the general election next preceding the sixth of August, 1929, voted for all of the nominees of the Democratic party.

It is maintained further in the declaration that Mr. Briggs is now a Democrat and a citizen who has met all the requirements precedent to the exercise of his rights as such.

Despite this, the allegation states, the right to vote was denied, although the plaintiff was at that time willing, anxious and ready to sign a pledge to vote for the nominees in the recent primary at the general election to be held on November 5.

Other Allegations

The defendants are further charged with having denied the right to vote to Mr. Briggs "arbitrarily, wilfully, and with malice pretense....thereby subjecting the said plaintiff to injury and damage in his good name, fame and credit among his neighbors and to ridicule and contempt because of the said refusal which deprived him...of his rights as a citizen, solely because he is a Negro."

Because of this alleged injury to his credit and reputation and "the public scandal and disgrace with and among his neighbors and other good and worthy citizens," the plaintiff has instituted the action of trespass on the case and sued for damages to the amount of \$10,000. Action in the suit is returnable in the September term of the court.

NEWPORT NEWS MAN SUES FOR HEAVY DAMAGES

Votes Refused Negroes In Four Virginia Cities

MORE SUITS LIKELY

Latest Action Also In Federal Judge Groner's Court

Despite the fairly general participation of Negroes throughout the state in the Democratic Primary held Tuesday of last week, instances of their being barred on various pretexts and of their recourse to the courts for redress have since become public.

Definite cases of the disbarment of colored voters are

known to have occurred in Portsmouth, Newport News, Petersburg and Richmond. One voter of color has filed suit for \$10,000 damages against election judges because they deprived him of his vote despite his allegation of being a Democrat.

Briggs Brings Suit

J. S. Briggs, 2509 Jefferson Avenue, Newport News, Saturday filed the \$10,000 damage suit in United States District Court here against three election judges in the Democratic Primary of last week. He alleges they failed to permit him, a Democrat, to vote in the Primary. J. Thomas Newsome, Newport News attorney, is representing the plaintiff in the action. He was in Norfolk Saturday to file the memorandum in the suit.

The bill of complaint was not filed and details of the allegations against the defendants were not given Saturday. The defendants are G. G. Ricks, H. H. Richardson, and Harry Cohen, white, and judges in the primary election.

A memorandum attached to the request for process to be issued reads as follows: "The object of this action is to recover damages against defendants for failure to permit the complainant, a Negro and a Democrat, to vote in said primary."

Action Returnable September 1

Process in the action is returnable to the first of September rules, which falls on the first Monday in September. 1,354 colored residents are reported qualified to vote in 1929 elections in Newport News.

Federal Judge D. Lawrence Groner handed down a decision in Richmond June 5, in which he declared the Virginia Primary Law, which had the effect of barring Negroes from the Democratic Primary, was unconstitutional and in violation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

The election officials filed a demurrer to the action and Judge Groner dismissed the demurrer and gave the defense more time in which to file other pleas in the action. The case is still pending.

West Again Denied Vote

James O. West, whose suit for \$5,000 damages against election officials in Richmond, who had refused him the right to vote in a previous Democratic primary there, resulted in Judge Groner's important decision, was also denied the right to vote in the recent Primary. Accompanied by his attorney J. R. Pollard, he applied at the first precinct, Madison Ward, Richmond, for a ticket to vote and was denied the privilege. Pharmacist A. M. Bowles applied at the same Richmond precinct and was likewise refused. As a result, a party composed of Attorney J. R. Pollard, Dr. A. M. Bowles, James O. West, and M. Alphonso Norrell applied to Judge John L. Ingram, of the Richmond Hustings Court, for relief. They recover damages against the defen-

were referred to Judge Julien Gunn, of the Richmond Circuit Court. Action for damages were anticipated from each of the men.

Petersburg Bars Too

Several Negroes voted in the Third and Sixth Wards in Petersburg, but when another applied to vote in the Fifth Ward there he was refused by the judges and referred to court officials. Reports from Petersburg have since failed to state whether he received any satisfactory settlement.

George H. Walker, Portsmouth attorney, filed a petition for a writ of mandamus before Judge C. W. Coleman Tuesday of last week asking for an order to compel Democratic election officials to allow him to vote. He was refused the right to vote, according to his complaint, but Judge Coleman denied his petition. This did not affect the voting of Negroes in a general way in Portsmouth, however.

Suit Is First Known

The suit by Mr. Briggs is the first one known to have been filed in the state since Judge Groner handed down his decision. Negroes were allowed to vote in Norfolk after telling election judges that they were Democrats. Estimates of the number who voted ranged from fifty to one hundred.

The law declared unconstitutional by Judge Groner permitted parties to make their own rules, which practically barred all Negroes from participation in Democratic Primaries.

VIRGINIANS FOLLOW UP LAW

One Man Asks Damages of \$10,000 for Denial of Rights

NORFOLK, Va. — Fighting for his constitutional rights, J. S. Briggs of Newport News, Saturday filed suit for \$10,000 damages in the United States district court here against three judges in the Democratic primary election of August 6. He alleges in the petition that he was denied the right to vote in the primary on the grounds of color.

J. Thomas Newsome, of Newport News, counsel for Briggs, filed the Memorandum in the case, but the bill of complaint was not filed at the time and details of the allegations was lacking.

The memorandum attached to the request for process to be issued as follows:

"The object of this action is to recover damages against the defen-

dants for failure to permit the complainant, a Negro and a Democrat, to vote in said primary."

Process in the action is returnable to the first of September rules, which falls on the first Monday in September.

The defendants are H. H. Richardson, G. H. Hicks and Harry Cohen, all judges in the primary election.

Federal Judge D. Lawrence Groner handed down a decision in Richmond June 5 in which he declared the Virginia primary law, which had the effect of barring colored Americans from the Democratic primary election officials to allow him to vote. He was unconstitutional and in violation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the constitution of the United States.

Judge Groner's decision came in a suit filed by James O. West, of Richmond, for \$5000 damages against election officials in Richmond who had refused West the right to vote in the last Democratic primary there.

George H. Walker, of Portsmouth, Va., filed a petition for a writ of mandamus before Judge C. W. Coleman August 6 asking for an order to compel Democratic officials to allow him to vote. He had been refused the right to vote, according to his complaint, Judge Coleman denied his petition.

Briggs' suit is the first one known to have been filed in the State since Judge Groner handed down his decision. Colored citizens were allowed to vote in this city after telling the election judges they were Democratic. About 30 or 35 Americans voted here for the first time in the last election.

Political-1929

Suffrage

DEMOCRAT

Warrenton Va

JUL 3 1929

REPUBLICAN CONTROL

In thanking the Virginia Republicans for their resolution support, President Hoover said:

"The example initiated by the people of Virginia themselves under their own chosen leadership will prove an inspiration to other States throughout the South to do likewise and thus establish and maintain that wholesome rivalry between parties out of which comes clean and efficient administration of public affairs, in which the people of all parties alike are primarily interested."

It is generally agreed by students of government and whole some rivalry between parties is desirable in holding in check the party in control. The debauch of the federal government under the Harding regime has been attributed by some to the overwhelming vote by which the Republicans regained power in 1920. The Harding administration was anything but clean and efficient. Yet the Republicans were returned to power in 1924 and again in 1928 by enormous majorities. The party which corrupted the government in the most scandalous administration in the history of the country was espoused by Mr. Hoover, and was again victorious in the last election. Mr. Hoover is not enthusiastic over the Democratic party which exposed the treachery and pillage of the Harding regime.

The conduct of affairs in Virginia furnishes a striking contrast to the past administration in Washington and in such Republican states as Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Indiana. The Democratic party has given the state of Virginia clean government. It has given Virginia efficient government. The development of the state from the ruin of the Civil War and re-adjuster days has commanded the admiration of the country. No breath of scandal has touched the administration of government in Virginia under Democratic control. Virginia is serving as a model for many states in the field of taxation, governmental organization, public health, and many other lines. The press has lately carried accounts of many governors and legislators from other states who have come to the State capitol to study the Virginia government for the purpose of improving their own. Some of these were from Republican states.

The Virginia government is not perfect, but few states can point to greater efficiency in administration.

It is natural that Mr. Hoover should congratulate the Virginia Republicans, but Virginians will not be so enthusiastic over the idea of turning over the government to a party which consumes

Virginia

its efforts in ranting over our election laws, pronouncing Virginia a state of political slavery, and condemning an administration which has attracted nation-wide attention for efficiency and honesty. Nor will Virginia find a great deal of inspiration in the utterances of a Republican Congressman from Chicago who exhorts us to send negro and white children to the same schools, and abolish our racial integrity laws.

No Virginia Democrat will object to an active party of opposition, but when it is a question of giving the Republican party control of the State government, Virginians will do a great deal of thinking.—The Winchester Star.

EVE. LEADER

LOWELL, MASS.

JUL 3 1929

The Coalition in Virginia.

Fusion of Republicans and anti-Smith Democrats in Virginia appears to have been effected to the extent that a coalition ticket is likely to be entered in the gubernatorial campaign.

The Republicans in convention last week nominated for governor and attorney general the candidates already named by the anti-Smith Democrats, contenting themselves with nominating a Republican for lieutenant governor. This arrangement awaits the ratification of the anti-Smith executive committee, but since the Democrats, so far as the ticket is concerned, get the long end of the bargain, the expectation is that the compact will be approved. The Republicans, of course, have made concessions with a view to future developments. They are looking ahead.

It remains to be seen whether the alliance will work out in practice. Southern traditions being what they are, the combination is not a natural one. The De Priest incident in Washington has been used to revive some of the old prejudices. Bishop Cannon, as the Republicans are likely to discover, is not the easiest man to get along with.

There is a degree of harmony on the surface just now. But shrewd political observers agree that the success of the coalition in the election depends on the anti-Smith vote. And that it can be kept in line is at least somewhat doubtful.

Cause for Shame

MR. WALTER WHITE of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has written a letter to this paper, which is published elsewhere on the editorial page, for the purpose of setting the record of the Virginia Primary Law decision more precisely correct. In something of an afterthought he reminds Virginians that in spite of the importance rendered in the cause of justice to the Negro, their support of the N. A. A. C. P. is far too meager. The JOURNAL AND GUIDE deplors the situation as shameful, for in Virginia and elsewhere there is no more vigilant guardian of the legal rights of colored Americans than the courageous organization with which Mr. White is connected.

The Association in its 20th annual meeting held in Cleveland, Ohio, June 26 to July 2,

adopted an address to the country which contains adequate and eloquent reasons why lethargic response to the N. A. A. C. P.'s program is disgracefully negligent. For twenty years the organization has labored expertly toward the solution of America's most difficult social problem. When it was founded Negroes were lynched at the rate of 78 per year, now the number is 11, dishonorable a blot as that is upon America's history. Vardaman and Tillman are no longer "authorities" on the race problem, Negroes go to college in notably large numbers, myths of extinction and inferiority have been blasted, and although the problem is still existent, it is not the same problem. The N. A. A. C. P. itself does not claim credit for this single-handed, but it is obvious that the Association, through its efforts and the expenditure of over a million dollars, has been a powerful factor.

The foundation of more complete citizenship that has been laid through court decisions appertaining to various phases of our life is certainly in large part the work of the N. A. A. C. P. There have been "grievous setbacks" to be sure. But any organization is a tremendously powerful social force that has played a part in demonstrating "that white and black Americans can work efficiently together for human uplift; that America will furnish funds to fight race prejudice when it realizes that it is not instinctive but a deliberately fashioned weapon of hurt and gain; and thirdly and chiefly, that earnest humans can strive for a radical and even revolutionary ideal without bloodshed and hate."

"Give us funds to fight," the Association has requested. "Provide cash for defense, adequate salaries, and current expense. Support our organ The Crisis; and let us go forward to a new decade of unity and success." That is an appeal that the JOURNAL AND GUIDE seconds strongly for people anywhere who are interested in the advancement of the Negro. Virginia's scant support, while now a cause for shame, should at the same time be a call to action. It is imperative that no organization so valuable to our welfare shall suffer from lack of support. The N. A. A. C. P. can be, for instance a powerful ally in the fight that Negro barbers and this newspaper have initiated against the pernicious Barbers' License Law that has been proposed in Virginia.

Norfolk, Va.—The coalition of anti-Smith Democrats and the Republican party for the prosecution of the gubernatorial campaign this year will afford Negroes an opportunity to become and remain a political factor in this State.

The alliance constitutes the most serious threat against Democratic control of the State machinery of Virginia since the campaign of 1882, and it is expected that both the coalition and the Democratic party will seek the Negro vote covertly if not openly.

"It is too early to indicate the trend of the majority of Negro voters in the November election," says P. B. Young, editor of the Norfolk Journal and Guide. "The anti-Smith and Republican coalition is likely to draw considerable support."

Mr. Young, however, points out that the administration of Governor Henry F. Byrd has been popular with the Negroes of this State and predicts that many of them will support the Democratic ticket in the election.

In Primary

A limited number of Negro voters will participate in the Democratic primary this year as a result of the decision of Judge Groner in the case of James O. West against the officers of a primary election in Richmond on April 3, 1928. That decision held the "white Democratic" primary illegal and opened the way for the participation of colored voters in Democratic primaries in Virginia.

The number of Negro voters in this State is comparatively low. It is estimated that there are only about 10,000 colored persons qualified to vote in this State. Approximately 385,000 Negroes of voting age live in Virginia.

TIMES
RALEIGH, N. C.

JUN 27 1929

POI AN? **USION IN VIRGINIA CAROLINA PARALLEL**

F. L. Ains of Virginia, in convention at Richmond acted as was anticipated by nominating Dr. William Moseley Brown, the young college professor recently named by the Anti-Smith convention at Roanoke.

Whereby the effort is apparent to repeat in Virginia and by the same methods the political upheaval which occurred in North Carolina, 1894 to 1898.

In that period of turmoil the Western economic-political fallacies laid hold on the imagination of thousands of North Carolina Democrats. They deserted in droves to the ranks of the Populist Party. Mr. Bryan, as uncertain in his mind as to his affiliations as was Mr. Hoover in 1920, got a scant majority under the name and style of a Democrat, but meanwhile Republicans and Populists had fused for the purpose of capturing the State government. It required bloodshed, coercion, intimidation and the theatrical staging of a kind of Holy War to recapture North Carolina for the dominant party.

But consider the effects, politically, which followed on this schism and its suppression. Populism having faded out of the picture, there were thousands of former Democrats who, starting with a strange association, completed their apostasy. These men who in the old days of negro voting held the word "Republican" as a symbol of horror curiously found it an easy transition from the state of a wild-eyed Populist on the loose to that of a hard-boiled member of the G. O. P. on a platform whose philosophy was to stand pat, and to the minor beneficiaries of an overflowing power. They have remained estranged, their children have been born to a Republican tradition, they have founded a State party which showed at the last election that only a trifle of treachery and disaffection in the ranks of the opposition, could result in swinging the State into the Republican column.

Virginia has not come on so fast. But its rush to Hoover last November signified a revolt in Democratic ranks comparable to the desertion of the Populists in 1894 in this State. It is now approaching in the bi-party nomination of Mr. Brown the coalition nominations which swept this State in 1896.

There is this difference, that the Negro Issue—the bane of Southern politics for a generation—has been raised for the defense by Mr. Hoover himself, who evidently cares little for his remarkable Southern conquests. The fusion campaign in Virginia will have to labor against the DePriest incident, as with us in 1898 it had to labor against the aggravation of Eastern towns and cities administered from Governor Russell's office and fitted out with negro policemen.

Politically, it does not much matter what Virginia does as the result of the coming election. It has, as we have, men in the ranks of the opposition party who are entirely capable of providing intelligent government. If Virginia can show a Republican majority here is no reason for the South to feel aggrieved.

There will be every reason, however, for apprehension if, as seems certain, the negro emerges from his political obscurity in the Old Dominion to become once more a vital issue in a Southern State.

God grant that Virginia can settle with him politically without the use of gunpowder!

**THOUSANDS ARE
ELIGIBLE: ONLY
FEW REGISTER
For President**

Primary Law Invalid, U. S. Court Rules

Richmond, Va., July 10— Federal Judge D. L. Groner's recent decision invalidating the Virginia Democratic primary law emphasizes the fact that Negroes in the state are denied the right of franchise in general elections in spirit if not by letter, which is a direct violation of the 14th and 15th amendments to the constitution. Spokesmen have frequently affirmed that the literacy and other qualifications which are prescribed for voters in the election apply to all alike, whether colored or white. Investigation, however, reveals that usually the white vote escapes these rigid tests.

The suffrage article in the Virginia constitution drawn by Senator Carter Glass, (Dem. Va.), requires that a person who would vote must be at least 21 years of age, must have lived in the state for at least two years and in the county or city where he seeks to vote for at least one year. He must fill out his application for registration in his own handwriting without any assistance of another person and without any memorandum. He is also required to show a receipt showing that he has paid the poll tax of \$1.50 at least six months in advance of the election.

The last census shows that there are 315,000 Negroes in Virginia who are over 21 years of age in that State, but it is estimated that in the presidential campaign of last year, not more than 7,000 or 8,000 of them voted. There are

about 15,000 registered as qualified voters.

Used as "Protection"

In January of last year, former Senator Bruce (Dem. Md.) during a senate debate took the South to task for circumventing the suffrage provisions of the constitution while they demanded blind obedience to the 18th amendment. He declared that Virginia laws and the election laws of several other southern states represented an "exercise of legal ingenuity" to nullify the 14th and 15th amendments.

Senator Bruce said that if the "southern states have the right, by the exercise of legal ingenuity, to nullify, practically speaking, the 14th and 15th amendments, we have the power to extricate ourselves from the tyrannous oppression of the 18th amendment and the Volstead Act."

When asked why they did not "exercise the ingenuity to do it," Senator Glass retorted that "we have enacted laws, providing for qualifications and requirements of voting which we deem necessary to protect ourselves from a class of voters whose introduction into politics has been most ruinous, not only to ourselves, but to ourselves and the entire country."

While the Democrats are coming out in the open to combat their fight against the Negroes exercising the right of suffrage, it is being pointed out that the Republicans are no less anxious to discriminate against the group. In substantiating this claim, the coalition of the Pure White Party, sponsored by Bishop Cannon, and his cohorts, with the State Republicans headed by C. Bascom Sloop.

Discussing the victory in the court, Gordon Hancock Blaine, a newspaper article, declares "It is safe to say that the recent ruling will affect the status of the Negro but slightly. (The Negro in Virginia in general and the Negro in Richmond in particular. He is also required to show a receipt showing that he has paid the poll tax of \$1.50 at least six months in advance of the election.)"

Few Pay Poll Tax

"It remains to be seen whether any considerable numbers of Negroes are willing to pay their taxes and qualify for the ballot. It has been said that more Negroes than are eligible to vote at the last year, not more than 7,000 or 8,000 of them voted. There are

do know that there is a lethargy in the matter of suffrage privileges that is depressing! The condition of affairs cannot be changed until the Richmond ministry takes a more intimate hand in the affairs of local government.

"Those Negro ministers and their people who hold that the minister has no business dabbling in politics are trying to follow the preachments which often emanate from the white ministry. The divergence is, the white people have a political leadership and a religious leadership whereas the Negro has only a religious leadership. It is therefore incumbent upon the Negro minister to bestir himself politically until such time as a wholesome political leadership is evolved."

Political - 1929

Suffrage

LEDGER-DISPATCH

NORFOLK, VA.
JUN 8 1929

EFFECT OF PRIMARY DECISION

Since the publication of Judge Groner's decision that the combination of state law and party rule which bars Negroes from participation in Democratic primaries in Virginia is in violation of the Constitution of the United States, discussion about town reveals considerable misapprehension of the effect of the decision. For one thing, the chief thing, perhaps, there is a widespread idea that the decision throws the gates so wide open that the Democratic primaries hereafter will be "swamped" with Negroes.

That is altogether erroneous: the decision holds only that no member of the Negro race shall be barred from a Democratic primary in Virginia because of the fact that he is a member of the Negro race. In every other respect, so far as this decision goes, the state laws and party rules governing and regulating general elections and primary elections are valid. That is to say, all the restrictions that limit the electorate of Virginia remain unaffected, and all the rules that regulate participation in Democratic primaries are still in force—with the single exception of that rule which seeks to confine participation in Democratic primaries to white persons.

The actual practical effect of this decision, then, is not far-reaching—or certainly is not far-reaching at this time. Looking about for something in connection with the government of Virginia with which to find fault, Virginia Republicans complain more or less vehemently against the illiberal franchise laws: they contend that these laws make participation in elections difficult; that they limit the electorate closely; and that this limitation is bad for the state. In theory, that is good enough; but whether a greatly enlarged electorate would result in better administration of the state's affairs, or would leave matters just where they are, is open to grave question. In any case, this limitation is precisely what it was before Judge Groner rendered his decision.

It is generally understood, it is assumed, that no person may participate in a primary in Virginia—whether Caucasian, African or Indian—who is not qualified in every respect to participate in a general election. Conversely, of course, no person who is not qualified to participate in a general election may participate in a primary election.

Now, in addition to this general restriction, the Democratic party, by virtue of the power vested in it by statute, sets up other restrictions

on participation in its primaries which are lawful. These have been discussed and debated at great length recently, as a result of the Anti-Smith movement notably. They relate to such matters as having voted the Democratic ticket at the next preceding general election, or giving a tacit pledge to support the Democratic nominees at the next general election and the like.

Not a single one of these restrictions has been broken down by the decision of Judge Groner. Educational qualifications, poll-tax prepayment, registration and all the other requirements prescribed by the state law are still in effect. And all the rules of the Democratic party plan are still in effect, except, to repeat, that which seeks to bar Negroes from participation in Democratic primaries.

Another reason why the decision is not, certainly at this time, of far-reaching effect is that, while Negroes will have a right to participate in Democratic primaries—provided they can meet all the other conditions set up by state law and party regulation—comparatively few of them in Virginia will even want to participate. Time may change that, it is true, but for the present only men of the type of P. B. Young, editor of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, who realize that the sole hope for the Negro does not reside in the Republican party, may seek to enter Democratic primaries.

DOES THIS FORECAST RETURN TO CONVENTIONS?

A momentous decision was handed down today by JUDGE D. LAWRENCE GRONER, of the United States district court. The court held that Negro Democrats have a legal right to vote in the Democratic primaries of this state. The decision is probably based, in part at least, on the opinion of the supreme court of the United States in the Texas case. In that opinion the high federal tribunal pointed out that the Texas primary law barring Negroes was in contravention of the provisions of the federal constitution.

Virginia Democratic leaders felt that the principles announced in the Texas case would not apply to primaries in this state inasmuch as our primary laws do not, by their terms, bar Negroes, the matter of eligibility to vote in a Democratic primary being left largely to the discretion of the party authorities. But as to this, after pointing out that the statutes of this state give equal rights of suffrage in primaries as well as in general election, JUDGE GRONER says:

"That a law which recognizes or which

Virginia.

authorizes a discriminatory test or standard does curtail and subvert them there can be no doubt, and such a law is therefore in conflict with the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the constitution of the United States."

JUDGE GRONER seems to have given much careful study to the question at issue, and his decision may be affirmed by the court of final resort. If so, does this mean that the Democratic party in Virginia will return to the convention method of nominating? Even so, would not a convention which barred Negroes equally violate the principles of the federal constitution, as such a primary that, under our laws, leaves eligibility to the party authorities?

NEW YORK WORLD

JUN 7 1929

TWO KINDS OF NULLIFICATION

In Virginia, the State of Bishop Cannon, that arch-enemy of nullification, a Federal judge has ruled that a law debarring Negroes from participating in the primary elections of the Democratic Party is unconstitutional because it violates the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. This decision is in line with one rendered in March, 1927, by the Supreme Court of the United States, when it set aside the primary law of Texas for the same reason.

Both these laws were designed frankly to nullify the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. And both the States enacting these laws broke away from their Democratic allegiance last November, ostensibly because of their opposition to any possible nullification of the Eighteenth Amendment. The white primary laws are not the only methods employed by the Southern States for nullifying those parts of the Constitution of which public sentiment within their borders does not approve. The right of the Negro to vote has been abridged and denied by provisions in the State Constitutions fixing literacy, long local residence, payment of poll taxes, ownership of property and other qualifications as requisite for the exercise of the suffrage. These requirements in the past have served to disfranchise the great mass of Negro voters, but a new generation of Negroes is now growing up which can meet these tests successfully. Consequently the holding of white primaries has been devised to prevent the Negro from exercising the franchise effectively. In the South the primary election is usually the most important political contest.

With legalized white primaries now banned by the Federal courts, Southern political leaders make no secret of their purpose to seek other methods for circumventing the Constitution. Evi-

dently there are two kinds of nullification in this country—the kind which the Southern drys practice themselves and the kind which they disprove in others.

BROOKLYN CITIZEN

JUN 6 1929

THE VIRGINIA DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES

The refusal of the Virginia Democratic party to allow Negroes to vote in the Democratic primaries has resulted in making the Democratic primaries illegal. A decision handed down by a Federal Judge, in a test case, declared that this disqualification of the Negro constituted a violation of the Fifteenth Amendment and hence, made illegal the Virginia Democratic primaries.

This decision follows a precedent set by the United States Supreme Court in 1927 when a similar case occurred in Texas. The Federal Supreme Court unanimously decided that disqualification of Negroes violated the Fifteenth Amendment.

The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution were adopted in the hysteria which followed the Civil War. It was the work of the radical element of the Republican party, led by Thad Stevens, of Pennsylvania. This is the same element in the Republican party which brought about the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson. President Johnson escaped impeachment by only one vote and his sole crime was that he sought to carry out towards the South the policies of Lincoln.

The white race in the South will never submit to Negro domination.

They have vivid recollections of the "carpet bag" governments in many of the Southern States which followed the Reconstruction period. They have endeavored by State legislation to get around the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Notwithstanding the decisions of the Federal Courts, the Negroes will continue to be disfranchised in the South because the ascendancy of the white race is a necessity to Southern civilization.

PRIMARY AGAIN IN COURT

(Norfolk Journal and Guide)

In spite of the decision of Judge Groner in federal district court that the rule which debarred Negroes from voting in Democratic primaries was illegal, election officials in Richmond, Newport News, Petersburg and Portsmouth refused to allow certain men who presented themselves as Democrats to vote.

It is not known in some of the cases upon what grounds the men were denied the privilege. In the case of George H. Walker, of Portsmouth, who failed to gain his objective through mandamus, it was held that he was not prevented from voting on account of his color, but on the ground that he is not a Democrat. That part of the primary law which permits such a proceeding has not been subjected to strict interpretation by the courts.

In Richmond, James O. West, upon whose petition the decision of Judge Groner was rendered, was denied the privilege of voting when he presented himself. The Richmond Planet which reported this fact does not state upon what grounds the privilege was denied Mr. West. J. S. Briggs of Newport News, who was denied the privilege of voting, immediately brought suit through his attorney J. Thomas Newsome, for \$10,000 against election officials. There was no objection in Norfolk to Negroes voting in the primary, and reports are that 30 or 35 participated. The full qualified Negro vote here is approximately 600.

The Richmond, Newport News and Portsmouth cases go to show that there is in most quarters general disregard for federal court decisions in political matters in the South, and that the right of Negroes to vote in Virginia primaries will not be fully settled until it is passed upon by the U.

S. Supreme Court. It would appear from the action of Richmond, Newport News and Portsmouth Democrats that it is the intention of the present State authorities to take the matter to higher court on appeal. Or, perhaps they feel that they can ignore the decision of Judge Groner and "weary out" the aspirations of Negroes to vote in the primaries. In this they will certainly discover that they are in error. The Negroes have a lot of patience and a lot of faith in the courts, and from actions there is no intention upon anybody's part of surrendering representation in this matter.

From the course the Democrats are taking it would seem that they are politically unwise. The desire upon the part of Negroes to remove the primary rule which would debar them on account of color is not based upon any great desire to vote the Democratic ticket, but rather to nullify a party-made rule, which has the sanction of State law, that entirely circumvents the right of a person to vote who has successfully passed every qualification imposed by the State constitution. Acceptance of the federal court ruling would not flood the Democratic party with Negro voters, but resistance to it will subject their primary to continuous legal attack and weaken the party's chance to draw upon independent voters in a State that is unmistakably ready for and determined to set up a virile two-party system.

WHITE PRIMARY AGAIN BEFORE SUPREME COURT

Washington, D. C.—The Supreme Court of the United States is expected to decide ultimately the right of a Negro to vote in a Democratic primary. 11-2-29

That question is the point and issue in a case appealed from the United States district court at Richmond, Va., to the Circuit Court of Appeals of the fourth circuit after a verdict awarding nominal damages of \$5 to James O. West, claiming to be a life-long Democrat, who sued three city election officials for

\$5,000 for denying him the privilege of voting in a local Democratic primary. *Benjamin*

The officials refused to permit him to vote on the ground that the Virginia law gave each political party the right to make rules and regulations governing party primaries and the executive committee of the Democratic party had passed a rule barring Negroes from participating in Democratic primaries.

Counsel for both plaintiff and defendants in the suit, which is designed to test the constitutionality of the primary law, agreed to the nominal verdict that a test could be made in the higher court as quickly as possible. Whichever way the case is decided, the losing side will ask the Supreme Court to grant a writ of certiorari to review the judgment of the Circuit Court of Appeals.

The Supreme Court has already held that a state statute which denies to Negroes the right to vote at a primary election is invalid. This was settled in the case of Nixon against Herndon, decided by the Supreme Court March 7, 1927, a Texas statute being held unconstitutional.

Seek New Way in Va. to Curb Vote

Decide Not to Fly in Face of Supreme Court Decision

RICHMOND, July 15.—Democratic leaders here are working overtime in the effort to find a "new method" by which the Negroes of the State can be disfranchised. This action became necessary when Judge D. L. Groner, a Federal judge, native Virginian and son of a Confederate general, rendered a decision which made the existing Democratic primary law invalid because it violated the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the Constitution of the United States. This decision fired the Democratic leaders to action. Some decided to carry the case to the Supreme Court, but cooler heads prevented this procedure and decided that another "way" could be found.

While the Democrats are coming out in the open to conduct their fight against the Negroes exercising the right of suffrage, it is being

pointed out that the Republicans are no less anxious to discriminate against the group. In substantiation of this claim is the coalition of the Pure White Party sponsored by Bishop Cannon and his cohorts with the State Republicans headed by Bascomb Slemons.

G. O. P. Opposes Poll Tax, Insists Virginia Pamphlet

RICHMOND, VA., Oct. 28.—A printed circular declaring the Republican party stood for repeal of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting and containing pictures of Oscar De Priest, negro congressman and his wife, along with excerpts from De Priest speeches drew official attention in the gubernatorial campaign tonight and an exchange of letters between party officials.

Henry W. Anderson, Republican leader, in a letter to John Garland Pollard Democratic nominee for governor, accused Democratic headquarters of distributing the pamphlet and denied that the Republican platform stood for poll tax repeal. 10-29-29

T. McCall Frazier, Democratic headquarters director, immediately wrote Anderson that no one connected with Democratic headquarters has had anything to do with the printing or distribution of "any such circular as you describe." Frazier said that insofar as he knew Dr. Pollard did not know of the existence of the pamphlet and was "no more responsible for its printing and distribution than is Dr. Brown or his headquarters responsible for the printing and distribution of the circular signed by Dabney Harrison which is now being distributed by friends of the coalition candidates and in which Dr. Pollard is shamefully slandered."

The circular charged that the poll tax was put into the constitution to eliminate the negro vote and that it was the requirement that really eliminated it.

GETS JUDGMENT IN DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY CASE

Nominal Sum of \$5.00 Awarded W. O. West Of Richmond

WAS REFUSED VOTE

Supreme Court Expect-

ed To Give Ultimate Decision

Special to Journal and Guide
Richmond, Va.—The Supreme Court of the United States is expected to decide ultimately the right of a Negro to vote in a Democratic primary.

That question is the point and issue in a case appealed from the United States district court here, to the Circuit Court of Appeals of the fourth circuit after a verdict awarding nominal damages of \$5 to James O. West, claiming to be a lifelong Democrat, who sued three city election officials for \$5,000 for denying him the privilege of voting in a local Democratic primary.

Refused Vote
The officials refused to permit him to vote on the ground that the Virginia law gave each political party the right to make rules and regulations governing party primaries and the executive committee of the Democratic party had passed a rule barring Negroes from participating in Democratic primaries. Counsel for both plaintiff and defendants in the suit, which is designed to test the constitutionality of the primary law, agreed to the nominal verdict that a test could be made in the higher court as quickly as possible. Whichever way the case is decided, the losing side will ask the Supreme Court to grant a writ of certiorari to review the judgment of the Circuit Court of Appeals.

Previous Court Ruling
The Supreme Court has already held that a state statute which denies to Negroes the right to vote at a primary election is invalid. This was settled in the case of Nixon against Herndon, decided by the Supreme Court March 7, 1927, a Texas statute being held unconstitutional.

Texas promptly passed another statute giving to each political party, acting through its state executive committee, the power to determine qualifications of members of that party. This act was sustained in an opinion by District Judge Hutcheson in the

(Continued on Page Twelve)

Incomplete.

Political - 1929

6-6-29
Suffrage.

Virginia Primary Rules Excluding Negro Voters From Party Held Invalid

Federal Judge Rules Parties Cannot Regulate Membership To Bar Anyone on Color Alone

Richmond, Va., June 5. (AP)—Judge Lawrence D. Groner, in United States district court, here today held the Virginia primary law contrary to the fifteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States. This a state may not do.

Judge Groner's opinion went into detail as to the constitutionality of the law, which has been construed as barring negro voters.

West in his action claimed nominal damages because precinct officials refused to permit him to vote in the last democratic primary.

To this plea, the state through Leon M. Bazile, assistant attorney-general, filed a demurrer. The demurrer was overruled today by Judge Groner.

Judge Groner gave the defendant election officials 60 days in which to plead further and continued the case after overruling the demurrer.

The case was regarded by attorneys as having an important effect on primary legislation in Virginia and possibly other southern states. West, the plaintiff, said he was a qualified democrat and had voted in previous general elections and in primaries held prior to the enactment of the present type of primary law in 1912.

The opinion, delivered by Justice Holmes in a case brought by L. A. Nixon, negro, who was excluded from voting at a democratic primary in El Paso held that the constitution denied the states the power to withhold from candidates for public office, it may do so negroes equal protection of the law and still preserve absolute right to the opinion adding that all persons, whether negro or white, shall stand equally before the law of the states.

Stating that there must be no discrimination because of color, the opinion declared that Texas attempted to forbid negroes from taking part in a primary election because of color alone.

The attorney-general of Texas had argued in the case that the nomination of a political party was not a primary of a political party was not an election in which every qualified voter had a right to participate. But the court held that the fourteenth amendment to the constitution extended to primaries as well as to general elections.

NEGROES TO VOTE IN VA. PRIMARY U. S. COURT RULES

Richmond, Va.—Judge Lawrence D. Groner, in the United States District Court, here ruled Wednesday, June 5, that the Virginia Primary Law was contrary to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution. Judge Groner's opinion, in the case of James O. West, Negro Democrat, against A. C. Billey and William Boltz, judges, and William Ricker, clerk of a Richmond voting precinct, declared that the State may not provide otherwise than for equal right of suffrage as well in the primary as in the general election.

"This the statute does," he said, "and if this was all there would be no ground for complaint, but it goes further and recognizes and enforces the right of a political party to prescribe qualifications forbidden under the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This a State may not do."

Judge Groner's opinion went into detail as to the constitutionality of the law, which has been construed as barring Negro voters.

Judge Groner's Decision
West, in his action, claimed nominal damages because precinct officials refused to permit him to vote in the last Democratic primary.

To this plea the State, through Leon M. Bazile, Assistant Attorney General, filed a demurrer. The demurrer was overruled by Judge Groner's decision.

WHITE PRIMARIES DENIED.
In the federal district court at Richmond, in a case brought by a negro democrat because, being fully qualified as a state voter, he was denied the right to vote in the democratic primary, Judge Groner decided that a "white primary" is unconstitutional.

In his decision the jurist said: "The state may not provide otherwise than for equal right of suffrage in the primary as in the general election. This the statute does, and if this was all there would be no ground

for complaint, but it goes further and recognizes and enforces the right of a political party to prescribe qualifications forbidden under the fifteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States. This a state may not do."

The decision seems to be constitutionally correct and in line with the decision of the supreme court in the Mosely case from Texas wherein the right of a negro democrat to vote in the party's statewide primary was upheld.

These cases fix the principle that a state cannot authorize a primary and then fix a qualification for voters in it on the basis of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." In other words, if a negro is a qualified voter, and claims to be a democrat in party principles and allegiance, he cannot be lawfully denied the right to vote in a primary that the state authorizes the party to hold. That is all there is in the issue.

EXPONENT
CLARKSBURG, W. VA
APR 11 1929
VOTE CAREFULLY

The other night ballots voted in the city primary in the Third ward were scanned by council. A glance through these ballots showed that many voters displayed an appalling lack of knowledge about how to vote correctly.

Approximately twenty ballots were thrown away by the city council when it met to recount the Thompson-Ross vote in this ward.

These twenty ballots could have decided the election, even to the extent of giving the Republican nomination to Julius C. Day, negro, or George O. Jackson, who were just twelve votes behind Mr. Thompson and only six behind Mr. Ross.

Eight candidates were running for the Republican council nomination in this ward. More than three-fourths of the incorrectly voted ballots were spoiled when citizens attempted to vote for two

or more of the aspirants. There were half a dozen ballots in which the "x" was placed in front of the names of no less than five candidates. It seems almost unbelievable that such gross ignorance of the election laws exists. The right to vote is a great privilege. Be careful when you come to exercise it, so that your voice as a citizen will be heard.

RICHMOND WHITE PRIMARY CASE IS SET FOR HEARING

Louis Marshall, Eminent New York Lawyer, Aiding Local Counsel

New York, April 10.—The case being fought against the exclusion of colored voters from Democratic primaries in the city of Richmond, Virginia, has been set for hearing on April 11, according to a report made to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People by Jos. R. Pollard, who was acting as attorney in the case.

The N. A. A. C. P. through Louis Marshall of its National Legal Committee, has been cooperating in the preparation of this case and has contributed \$100 toward the expenses of it.

This is one of the cases being fought with the aid of the N. A. A. C. P. in various Southern states, following the victory before the U. S. Supreme Court in the Texas White Primary case, in which a state law barring colored voters from Democratic primaries was held unconstitutional. In the cases now being contested, the attempt is made to bar colored voters from the primaries by action of the State Democratic party or primary officials, without barring such voters directly by law.

Other such cases are in progress in Texas and Florida.

NEW YORK TIMES

JUN 6 1929

VIRGINIA PRIMARY RULED AS INVALID

State Law Permitting Party to Exclude Negroes Is Upset by Federal Judge.

NEGRO SUED DEMOCRATS

Barring Him From Polls Violated 14th and 15th Amendments, Groner Declares.

Special to The New York Times.

RICHMOND, Va., June 5.—The Virginia primary election law as at present construed and administered was held to be in violation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution in an opinion handed down by Judge D. Lawrence Groner in the Federal Court today.

The legality and constitutionality of the law was attacked in a suit filed several months ago by James O. West, Negro Democrat, against A. C. Bliley and William Boltz, judges, and William Ricker, clerk, of a Richmond voting precinct. West charged that the officials refused him the right to vote in the last Democratic primary and he asked \$5,000 damages.

A custom that has long obtained in Virginia and the structure of the primary law as at present construed was considered Judge Groner. He said that he was "impressed with the importance of the question raised in this case and mindful likewise of the responsibility of its decision."

Wide Effect of Decision.

"I have given the case careful thought," he said. "That its effect may be to change a custom that has long obtained in the political system in effect in this State and therefore meet with the disapproval of many is a consequence which, unpleasant though it may be, may nevertheless not be avoided in the performance of the duty devolving on the court."

Leon M. Bazile, Assistant Attorney General, filed a demurrer to the West declaration. It was in overruling the demurrer that Judge Groner declared the primary law unconstitutional.

That the case will be taken to the Circuit Court of Appeals and possibly to the Supreme Court of the land was intimated by Wilmer O'Flaherty, secretary of the Electoral Board of Richmond.

Mr. O'Flaherty said:

"If the ruling is upheld, it means that the Democratic party in Virginia may no longer make rules barring negroes from taking part in its primaries."

State Law Voided, Says Lawyer.

That part of the State election laws which pointedly bars negroes from voting in primary elections of the Democratic party and considered

a vital feature of the law was voided by the ruling, according to Alfred S. Cohen, an attorney representing West in the case.

Judge Groner declared in his decision that the State may not provide otherwise than for the equal rights of suffrage in the primary as well as in the general election.

"This the statute does," the opinion recites, "and if this was all there would be no ground for complaint out it goes further and recognizes and enforces the right of a political party to prescribe qualifications forbidden under the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This a State may not do."

Supreme Court Ruling in 1927.

WASHINGTON, June 5 (AP).—The decision of Federal Judge Groner holding the Virginia primary law contrary to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the Constitution recalled here that a primary election law of Texas denying negroes participation in Democratic primaries in that State was declared invalid by the Supreme Court in March, 1927.

The opinion, delivered by Justice Holmes in a case brought by L. A. Nixon, negro, who was excluded from voting at a Democratic primary in El Paso, held that the Constitution denied the States the power to withhold from negroes equal protection of the law, the opinion adding that all persons, whether negro or white, shall stand equally before the law of the States.

Stating that there must be no discrimination because of color, the opinion declared that Texas attempted to forbid negroes taking part in a primary election because of color alone.

The Attorney General of Texas had argued in the case that the nominating primary of a political party was not an election in which every qualified voter had a right to participate, but the court held that the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution extended to primaries as well as to general elections.

Spokane, Va., Herald

Sunday, January 13, 1929

VIRGINIA VOTING LAWS ARE CLEAR

Governor Byrd Tells Robert Angell There Is Nothing Vague About Them and Study of Commission Unnecessary.

RICHMOND, Va., Jan. 12 (AP).—Virginia's voting laws "are clear and definite and the study of a commission is not necessary to understand the present laws or to suggest amendments, either to the statutory laws or to the franchise sections of the constitution," declares Governor Harry F. Byrd, in a

letter replying to the one written some vember 6th and in the effort on the time ago by R. H. Angell, chairman of part of the state to provide adequate the Republican state committee, Roanoke, on November 2, Mr. Roanoke. Mr. Angell expressed favor of M. A. Hutchison, secretary of the committee, "a complete and modernized revision of our election laws and machinery."

Governor Byrd also declares in the letter that he has not authority to appoint a commission to investigate the matter.

The letter written by Governor Byrd follows:

"I have received and carefully noted your public letter written the day after the last election in which you express yourself as favoring a 'complete and modernized revision of our election laws and machinery.' My delay in responding to your letter was in no way intended as an act of discourtesy towards you. I delayed answering your letter until after the holidays so that following the publication of your views an opportunity would be given to citizens generally to make known their opinions either by letter to me or by published statements. I have received one letter favoring a general liberalization of our election laws and have observed no agitation for such revision. I have received quite a number of communications both in person and by letter suggesting the danger in the complete revision of our election law favored by you by imperiling white supremacy, which is now safeguarded by our present election laws in the thirty-odd counties in Virginia where the negro population predominates."

"I have no authority to appoint a commission to investigate this matter as suggested by you. Our voting laws are clear and definite and the study of a commission is not necessary to understand the present laws or to suggest amendments either to the statutory laws or to the franchise sections of the constitution. From time to time changes have been and can be made to meet new conditions; and during the last two sessions of the general assembly this subject again received the careful consideration of the assembly."

"No human laws are entirely perfect but I am thankful under our present voting laws, that Virginia has escaped the glaring frauds and corruption that have permeated the states of Pennsylvania, Illinois and Indiana."

"Your letter mentions the congestion at the polls that occurred in Roanoke on November 6th. Such congestion can be relieved under the existing laws. I respectfully call your attention to section 144 of the code which provides for new voting precincts to be established by order of the court when required. I also call your attention to section 160 which provides for additional booths in authorized voting precincts when such are necessary. In anticipation of a large vote on No-

"I thank you for the courtesy of your letter and I assure you that I am always glad to hear from you or any other citizen on any matter of public interest."

NEW YORK EVE POST

VIRGINIA PRIMARY LAW HELD UNCONSTITUTIONAL

U. S. Judge Rules Statute, Construed as Barring Negroes, Violates 14th and 15th Amendments

Richmond, Va., June 5 (AP).—Judge Lawrence D. Groner in United States District Court here today held the Virginia primary law contrary to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution.

Judge Groner's opinion, in the case of James O. West, negro Democrat, against A. C. Bliley and William Boltz, judges, and William Ricker, clerk, of a Richmond voting precinct, declared the State may not provide otherwise than for equal right of suffrage, as well in the primary as in the general election.

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Judge Groner's opinion went into detail as to the Constitutionality of the law, which has been construed as barring negro voters.

West in his action claimed nominal damages because precinct officials refused to permit him to vote in the last Democratic primary.

To this plea the State, through Leon M. Bazile, Assistant Attorney General, filed a demurrer. The demurrer was overruled today by Judge Groner.

Political-1929

Suffrage
VIRGINIAN-PILOT
NORFOLK, VA.

JUL 21 1929
**REGISTRAR ADDS
1,071 NEW VOTERS
TO ELIGIBLE LIST**

Books Now Closed Until After
Primary August 6; 260
Cast Ballots By Mail

There are 1,071 new voters on the registration books this morning as result of registrations during 1929, even though it appeared last year, when all records were broken, that there would be no one left, at all, to register for a year or two.

Of the 1,071 registrants 442 have qualified themselves to vote within recent weeks, and the vast majority of them are regarded as having qualified to participate in the Democratic primary. All told, 271 were registered in July, with half that number registered within the last 10 days. Presumably, almost all of these registered for the purpose of voting in the primary.

Most of the 21 local candidates for primary honors were sending in prospective voters yesterday. The office of the General Registrar was doing a rushing business, and the scene was similar to the scenes last year when the registration books were about to close.

The suggestion of Oscar De Priest the Negro congressman from Chicago that Norfolk Negroes qualify themselves to vote recently has not had appreciable effect, since only 47 out of the 1,071 new registrants for this year are listed as Negroes, and 29 of them are registered in the twenty-first precinct, which has large preponderance of Negro population.

Rush to Register

The rush to register before the poll books closed yesterday naturally was on the part of persons who expect to vote in the Democratic primary, because the books will open again on the morning after the primary and will remain open until shortly before the day of the general election. General Registrar Nottingham said that the indications were very conclusive that the great majority of those who have registered recently have been Democrats.

Indications are just as strong that the activities of the large group of local candidates have been largely responsible for these registrations, just

as they are forecast to be largely responsible for bringing out a large vote on primary day.

Up to yesterday the General Registrar had received applications from 260 persons to vote by mail or for the absentee voters' privilege. The majority of these applied for the absentee voters' ballots in person, and voted in the office then and there. This number breaks all primary mail-voting records, and the records stand to receive still further boosts because the time limit for voting by this method does not expire until August 1. The activities of the local candidates again is held responsible for a large proportion of this vote which otherwise would be lost.

**VIRGINIA HAS ONLY
15,000 VOTERS OUT OF
315,000 REGISTERED**

RICHMOND, Va., July 17. (A. N. P.)—That only 15,000 of the 315,000 colored persons over 21 years of age were registered voters and that some seven or eight thousand of this number voted in the last election, was revealed here in a recent investigation.

It was further disclosed that while colored citizens are compelled to meet rigid tests in order to register, whites are not subjected to those tests. In fact, so rigid is the test, according to the investigators, many colored people who desire to qualify to exercise their right to suffrage are discouraged and do not attempt to pass the test.

**ONLY 15,000 NEGROES
REGISTERED IN VA**

Associated Negro Press
RICHMOND, Va., July 17.— That only 15,000 of the 315,000 Negroes over 21 years of age were registered voters and that some seven or eight thousand of this number voted in the last election, was revealed here in a recent investigation.

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**Only 15,000 Race
Men Registered
7/20/29 In Virginia**

RICHMOND, Va., July 18.— (A. N. P.)—That only 15,000 of the 315,000 Negroes over 21 years of age were registered voters and that some seven or eight thousand of this number voted in the last election, was revealed here in a recent investigation.

It was further disclosed that while Negroes are compelled to meet rigid tests in order to register, whites are not subjected to these tests. In fact, so rigid is the test, according to the investigators, many Negroes who desire to qualify to exercise their right of suffrage are discouraged and do not attempt to pass the test.

**VIRGINIA PRIMARY
CASE TO U. S.
APPEALS COURT**

Both Sides Agree on
Nominal Damages to
Plaintiff.

After American
DEMOCRATS LOSE

11-2-29
**Announce Intention to
Go to Supreme Court.**

WASHINGTON, D. C.— The Supreme Court of the United States is expected to decide ultimately the right of Negro to vote in a Democratic primary.

That question is the point at issue in a case appealed from the United States district court at Richmond, Va., to the Circuit Court of Appeals of the fourth circuit after a jury in the lower court had returned a verdict awarding nominal damages of \$5 to James O. West, claiming to be a lifelong Democrat, who sued thirty election officials for \$5,000 for denying him the privilege of voting in a local Democratic primary.

Refused Vote

The officials refused to permit him

Virginia.

to vote on the ground that the Virginia law gave each political party the right to make rules and regulations governing party primaries and the executive committee of the Democratic party had passed a rule barring Negroes from participating in Democratic primaries.

Counsel for both plaintiff and defendant in the suit, which is designed to test the constitutionality of the primary law, agreed to the nominal verdict that a test could be made in the higher court as quickly as possible. Whichever way the case is decided, the losing side will ask the Supreme Court to grant a writ of certiorari to review the judgment of the Circuit Court of Appeals.

Court Acted

The Supreme Court has already held that a state statute which denies to Negroes the right to vote in a primary election is invalid. This was settled in the case of Nixon against Herndon, decided by the Supreme Court March 7, 1927, a Texas statute being held unconstitutional.

Texas promptly passed another statute giving to each political party, acting through its state executive committee, the power to determine qualifications of members of that party. This act was sustained in an opinion by District Judge Hutcheson in the case of Grigsby against Harris, decided July 23, 1928.

Modelled After Texas

The Virginia statute was modeled after the Texas statute, but District Judge Groner held it to be invalid. In his opinion Judge Groner said:

"The Legislature, pursuant to constitutional authority, having undertaken to regulate primary elections and to authorize them to be held at the public expense and to provide the same rules and regulations applicable to an election, may not indirectly, any more than it may directly exclude a duly qualified voter who declares himself to be an adherent to the party participating in the primary from the exercise of his right of suffrage.

Impartial Suffrage

"The Fourteenth Amendment compels the adoption of what is called impartial suffrage. Its purpose was to establish all over the United States one people, and that each of these may understand the constitutional fact that his privileges and immunities cannot be abridged by state authority, and that these rights are not confined to any class or race, but comprehend all within its scope."

These two conflicting decisions will be made the basis for the application to the Supreme Court for a writ of certiorari to review the decision of the United States district court at Richmond.

**COLORED VOTERS
REGISTER FOR
PRIMARY**

Liberalized absent-voters, N.Y.

Virginia will allow men and women voters who will be absent from their respective voting precincts in the Democratic primary on August 6, to cast their ballots in advance, provided application is made, so far as Norfolk is concerned, to the general registrar at Monticello Avenue of the Hall on or before August 1.

There were 1,071 new voters on the registration books when the books closed on Saturday until after the primary. Despite urgings to become eligible to vote and participate, made since Judge Groner of the Federal District Court declared Virginia's primary law barring Negroes to be unconstitutional, only 47 of the total new voters were colored. Many others, however, were already on the books. Twenty-nine of the new voters came from the predominately colored 21st precinct.

The simplest method for vacationists to make application for a ballot, mark it, and deposit it with the general registrar before leaving the city—certainly to make application on or before August 1 and avoid any possible loss of a ballot.

Political observers are forecasting a vote in the Democratic primary of not less than 9,000 and many see, including local candidates, a total of more than 10,000 ballots cast in person and by mail on August 6, in Norfolk city.

In 1925 when there were comparatively few local contests, the primary vote was around 9,250 and the expectancy is that the sharp local fights and the renewed activity of colored voters will increase this total.

The Anti-Smithites, Democratic leaders assert, are having trouble keeping their followers of last year out of the primary, while they are not inclined to minimize the potential strength of the Republican-Anti-Smith movement. In November the defections from the union ticket have been so widespread that at the moment, the Democrats have been encouraged to expect a big primary vote that will hold with the party in November.

**RICHMOND, VA
TIMES-DISPATCH**

**OCT 29 1929
Seeking
Appeal In Case
Of Negro Voter**

**Constitutionality of Democratic Party Primary Plan
May Be Tested in Court**

The constitutionality of the Democratic party plan, restricting participation in primaries to white voters alone, may be tested in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals here, it was learned yesterday with the announcement of the filing of an application in United States District Court for an appeal from the verdict in a case brought by a Negro refused permission to vote at a Richmond Democratic primary.

James O. West, the plaintiff, was denied the right to vote at a primary held here more than a year ago. A. C. Milley, William Belty and William C. Miller, election officials in the Second Madison precinct were named as defendants in the suit. The suit against the election officials came before Judge D. Lawrence Groner last spring, when he denied a demurrer argued by the Alfred E. Cohen and J. R. Pollard, who are representing West. The defendants, who are represented by Wilmer L. O'Flaherty, secretary of the City Electoral Board, and Leon M. Bazille, Attorney-General of Virginia, are now at Norfolk, and this application has been submitted to Judge Groner, now at Norfolk, and this is expected to be acted on shortly. The defense also filed a stipulation for the printing of the record to pre-vent the printing of the record to the higher court.

Political-1929

Suffrage VIRGINIAN-PILOT NORFOLK, VA.

21 1928 REGISTRAR ADD 1,071 NEW VOTERS TO ELIGIBLE LIST

Books Now Closed Until After
Primary August 6; 260
Cast Ballots By Mail

There are 1,071 new voters on the registration books this morning as registered during 1928, even age records were broken, that there would be no one left, at all, to register for a year or two.

Of the 1,071 registrants 442 have qualified themselves to vote within recent weeks, and the vast majority of them are regarded as having qualified to participate in the Democratic primary. All told, 271 were registered in July, with half that number registered within the last 10 days. Presumably, almost all of these registered for the purpose of voting in the primary.

Most of the 21 local candidates for primary honors were sending in prospective voters yesterday. The office of the General Registrar was doing a rushing business, and the scene was similar to the scenes last year when the registration books were about to close.

The suggestion of Oscar De Priest, the Negro congressman from Chicago that Norfolk Negroes qualify themselves to vote, apparently has not had appreciable effect, since only 47 out of the 1,071 new registrants for this year are listed as Negroes, and 29 of them are registered in the twenty-first precinct, which has large preponderance of Negro population.

Rush to Register
The rush to register before the polls closed yesterday naturally was on the part of persons who expect to vote in the Democratic primary, because the books will open again on the morning after the primary and will remain open until shortly before the day of the general election. General Registrar Nottingham said that the indications were very conclusive that the great majority of those who have registered recently have been Democrats.

Indications are just as strong that the activities of the large group of local candidates have been largely responsible for these registrations, just

Only 15,000 Race Men Registered

As they are forecast to be largely responsible for bringing out a large vote in primary day.

Up to yesterday the General Registrar had received applications from 260 persons to vote by mail or for the absentee voters' privilege. The majority of these applied for the absentee voters' ballots in person, and voted in the office then and there. This number breaks all primary mail-voting records, and the records stand to receive still further votes because the time limit for voting by this method does not expire until August 1. The activities of the local candidates again is held responsible for a large proportion of this vote which otherwise would be lost.

15,000 VOTERS OUT OF 315,000 REGISTERED

RICHMOND, Va., July 17.—(AP) That only 15,000 of the 315,000 registered voters are expected to vote in the primary is the estimate of the Registrar.

It was further disclosed that while colored citizens are compelled to register, whites are not subjected to those tests. In fact, so rigid is the test, according to the investigators, many colored people who desire to qualify to exercise their right of suffrage are discouraged and do not attempt to pass the test.

ONLY 15,000 NEGROES REGISTERED IN VA

Associated Negro Press
RICHMOND, Va., July 17.—That only 15,000 of the 315,000 Negroes registered in the primary are expected to vote is the estimate of the Registrar.

It was further disclosed that while Negroes are compelled to meet rigid tests in order to register, whites are not subjected to these tests. In fact, so rigid is the test, according to the investigators, many Negroes who desire to exercise their right of suffrage are discouraged and do not attempt to pass the test.

VIRGINIA PRIMARY CASE TO U. S. APPEALS COURT

Both Sides Agree
Nominal Damages
Plaintiff.

Announce Intention
Go to Supreme Court.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Supreme Court of the United States is expected to decide ultimately the right of Negro to vote in a Democratic primary.

That question is the point at issue in a case appealed from the United States district court at Richmond, Va., to the Circuit Court of Appeals of the fourth circuit after a jury in the lower court had returned a verdict awarding nominal damages of \$5,000 to James O. West, claiming to be a white Democrat, who sued three city election officials for \$5,000 for denying him the privilege of voting in a local Democratic primary.

to vote on the ground that the Virginia law gave each political party the right to make rules and regulations governing party primaries and executive committee of the Democratic party had passed a rule barring Negroes from participating in Democratic primaries.

Counsel for both plaintiff and defendant in the suit, which is designated as the constitutional case, agreed to the nominal verdict that a test could be made in the higher court as quickly as possible. Whichever way the case is decided, the losing side will ask the Supreme Court to grant a writ of certiorari to review the judgment of the Circuit Court of Appeals.

The Supreme Court has already held that a state statute which denies to Negroes the right to vote in a primary election is invalid. This was settled in the case of *Nixon against Herndon*, decided by the Supreme Court March 7, 1927, a Texas statute being held unconstitutional.

Texas promptly passed another statute giving to each political party acting through its state executive committee, the power to determine the qualifications of members of that party. This act was sustained in an opinion by District Judge Hutcheson in the case of *Griggs against Harbets*, decided July 23, 1928.

The Virginia statute was modeled after the Texas statute, but District Judge Groner held it to be invalid. In his opinion Judge Groner said: "The Legislature, pursuant to constitutional authority, having undertaken to regulate primary elections and to authorize them to be held at the public expense and to provide the same rules and regulations applicable to an election, may not directly exclude a duly qualified voter who declares himself to be an adherent to the party participating in the primary from the exercise of his right of suffrage."

"The Fourteenth Amendment compels the adoption of what is called impartial suffrage. Its purpose was to establish all over the United States one people, and that each of these may understand the constitutional fact that his privileges and immunities cannot be abridged by state action, and that these rights are not confined to any class or race, but comprehend all within its scope. These two conflicting decisions will be made the basis for the application to the Supreme Court for a writ of certiorari to review the decision of the United States district court at Richmond."

Colored Voter
REGISTER FOR
PRIMARY

Virginia will allow men and women who will be absent from their homes on the day of the primary to vote by mail or for the absentee voters' privilege. The application is made, as far as Norfolk is concerned, to the general registrar, Monticello Avenue, side of City Hall on the corner of 11th and 12th streets.

There were 1,071 new voters on the registration books when the books closed Saturday night after the primary. Despite warnings to become eligible to vote and participate, made in the higher court as quickly as possible, the losing side will ask the Supreme Court to grant a writ of certiorari to review the judgment of the Circuit Court of Appeals.

Political observers are forecasting a loss of a ballot.

In 1925 when there were comparatively few local contests, the primary vote was around 9,250 and the expectation is that the sharp local fights and the renewed activity of colored voters will increase this total.

The Anti-Smitheites, Democratic leaders, are having trouble keeping their followers of last year out of the primary, while they are not inclined to minimize the potential strength of the Republican-Anti-Smithe movement. In November the defections from the union ticket have been so widespread that at the moment, the Democrats have been encouraged to expect a big primary vote that will hold with the party in November.

OCT 29 1928
Seeking
Appeal In Case
Of Negro Voter

Constitutionality of Democratic Party Primary Plan
May Be Tested in Court

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James O. West, the plaintiff, was denied the right to vote at a primary held here more than a year ago. A. O. Bliley, William Bolty and William Ricker, election officials in the Second Madison precinct were named as defendants in the suit.

The suit against the election officials came before Judge D. Lawrence Groner last spring, when he denied a demurrer argued by the Alfred E. Cohen and J. R. Pollard, defendants. It was brought up again last week and a verdict awarding nominal damages in the sum of \$5,000 was returned.

The application has been submitted to Judge Groner, now at Norfolk, and is expected to be acted on shortly. The defense also filed a stipulation for the printing of the record to present to the higher court.

NOV 3 1928
**VA. POLL TAX
LAW DISCUSSED
BY ANDERSON**

**Says Officeholders Now
Control; Payments \$7,-
000,000 In Arrears**

Portsmouth Bureau.

Declaring that he was fighting to save civilization for posterity, Col. Henry W. Anderson, Republican leader, speaking before an audience of 500 at the Portsmouth market auditorium last night, attacked poll tax abuses, the De Priest pamphlet which he asserted had been issued through the Democratic headquarters in Richmond despite Dr. Pollard's denunciation of such tactics; the talk of Negro domination and the Constitution of 1902. The judiciary also received his condemnation because they failed, he stated, to give the Republicans representation on the electoral boards in several parts of the state. He denounced the fee system.

Colonel Anderson was introduced by Paul C. Trugien, who led in giving the speaker three cheers and a tiger. Colonel Anderson said he was not referring to persons, but to the system of government that has grown up which is inimical, he claimed, to the interests of the people of Virginia. He asserted that the Republican party was strongly in favor of individual poll tax, but that such tax, not required to be paid personally by the voter, was inequitable, in that it left a loophole for someone to pay it for the voter, giving a claim upon the vote. He said the poll tax assessment in Virginia is \$7,000,000 in arrears, and that what portion of the tax is collected is paid by Democratic workers and county treasurers. He cited the instance of the treasurer of Roanoke county, who admitted, declared Colonel Anderson, having paid poll taxes for a great many people.

Colonel Anderson said North Carolina has no poll-tax requirements and the Negroes have not gained control there. Poll taxes should be required of the individual voter, and any who pay these taxes for others should be put in jail. He declared any man was a prevaricator who said he wanted to do away with the poll tax.

After speaking of the De Priest pamphlet Colonel Anderson said it is our duty to see that the Negro is treated fairly. The white people, he declared, will not permit them to

obtain control of the state, but every colored man and woman is due a fair chance, he said. He cited census figures to show that there are more than twice as many whites as there are Negroes in Virginia, and that white supremacy was not threatened. He said the Republican party in Virginia had definitely divorced the Negro vote and freely offered their strength to the Democrats in matter of white control. He declared the platform of the Republican party did not in any manner contemplate the lowering of the bars of enfranchisement.

He denounced the Constitution of 1902, and declared that Dr. Pollard had a part in its adoption, and that as a result of its adoption 70,000 voters are able to control the state's affairs.

He termed the removal of tax on foreign stocks prejudicial to the interests of the state; that \$20,000,000 for gas and auto taxes was sufficient for the state to spend. He stated the Democratic party had been in control too long, and that he would be opposing the Republican party if it had been in control of the state for 50 years.

H. H. Parker, head of the city coalition campaign forces, introduced the independent candidates for local office and announced that Geo. T. Culpepper had withdrawn from the race for the office of city treasurer and urged his audience to vote for Kennet O. Howell for the office. He said the last coalition meeting of the campaign would be held in the auditorium Monday night and would be addressed by Paul W. Kear, U. S. district attorney; Mrs. R. M. Stokes, candidate for the House of Delegates, and others. Mr. Parker himself in behalf of the campaign club thanked Mrs. J. P. Riley and Mrs. J. L. Schmich for the decorations of the hall.

**COLORED VOTERS
PARTICIPATE IN
STATE PRIMARY**

One Contested Case

**Reaches Court In
Portsmouth**

WRIT IS DENIED

General Voting Among

**Race Reported In
State**

**Tuesday the first Democratic
primary election was held in**

Virginia since Federal Judge D. Lawrence Groner handed down the opinion which swept away the chief barrier that had effectively barred the participation of Negro voters in this form of election. Tuesday the primary election was open to the participation of Negroes in a general way for the first time since several years ago, when the party rules were definitely interpreted to bar colored voters.

In Portsmouth there was one contested case which reached the courts, that of a colored voter attempting to cast his ballot. George H. Walker, a prominent attorney, was refused a writ of mandamus by Judge C. W. Coleman, presiding for Judge K. A. Bain, to compel the election officials of Jefferson ward to permit him to vote in the primary election. The action of the court in this particular case had nothing to do, however, with the participation of Negroes in the election in a general way, except that it might apply in identical cases.

Judge Coleman, of the Circuit Court for Norfolk county, was presiding for Judge Bain in the Hustings Court, because of Judge Bain's son being a candidate in the election, and denied the writ on the ground that Mr. Walker admitted under oath that he did not support the Democratic candidate for President in the last general election; hence he was disqualified to participate in the primary election.

Mr. Walker, a resident and voter of Jefferson ward, presented himself at the polling place in that ward Tuesday morning, but the election judges Emmett Deans, M. T. Carr, and Lorenz Carr, refused to permit him to vote on the grounds that he was not a qualified member of the Democratic party. Through his attorney, Thomas H. Reid, Mr. Walker petitioned the court to compel the judges to permit him to vote.

In the hearing before Judge Coleman Mr. Walker admitted under oath that he did not vote for either Hoover or Smith in the general election but that he supported former Congressman J. F. Deal, Democrat. Because of this admission the writ of mandamus was refused by Judge Coleman.

The Virginia Statute
The Court based its decision on the statute of the Virginia Code which reads:

"No person shall be permitted to vote for the candidates of any party in any primary unless such person is a member of such party and in the last preceding general election in which persons participated, he or she voted for the nominees of such party."

Election judge Emmett Deans testified that the complainant was not re-

used the right to vote because he was a Negro, but because he failed to support Alfred E. Smith in the last general election. Mr. Deans said a number of Negroes had voted in Jefferson ward.

Negroes voting in the Jefferson ward was reported, were being required to take the oath to support the nominees of the State primary. Mr. Walker, it is stated, objected to taking this oath, saying it was not required of white Democrats.

Reports From Harrison Ward
Reports also were circulated that Negroes were being denied the vote in Harrison ward, but when election officials learned of Judge Coleman's decision that they could not be barred provided they had voted for the Democratic Presidential nominee in the general election in November, those meeting this qualification were permitted to vote.

Attorney Thomas H. Reid, who presented Mr. Walker's petition to the court, contended that the local Democratic committee had announced that any qualified voter in the city might participate in the primary, provided he or she returned to the Democratic party and promised to support the nominees of the party named in the primary.

In Norfolk colored voters participated in the primary in a general way. The vote was rather light, it is true, but the colored vote in this city nominally is light. Heretofore, however, a mere handful or less of colored voters have gone in the Democratic primary. This year the number was considerably increased, due to the ruling of the Federal court.

It is believed had Judge Groner's ruling come early enough to permit colored voters to meet all other requirements relative to payment of poll taxes and registration, a much greater number would have gone in the primary election.

Throughout the State, reports indicate increased participation of colored voters in the Democratic primary.

**TO PUSH
PRIMARY
FIGHT**

11/2/29
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cratic primary.

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The officials refused to permit him to vote on the ground that the Virginia law gave each political party the right to make rules and regulations governing party primaries and the executive committee of the Democratic party had passed a rule barring Negroes from participating in Democratic primaries. Counsel for both plaintiff and defendants in the suit, which is designed to test the constitutionality of the primary law, agreed to the nominal verdict that a test could be made in the higher court as quickly as possible. Whichever way the case is decided, the losing side will ask the Supreme Court to grant a writ of certiorari to review the judgment of the Circuit Court of Appeals.

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"The Legislature, pursuant to constitutional authority, having undertaken to regulate primary elections and to authorize them to be held at the public expense and to provide the same rules and regulations applicable to an election, may not indirectly, any more than it may directly, exclude a duly qualified voter who declares himself to be an adherent to the party participating in the primary from the exercise of his right of suffrage."

"The Fourteenth Amendment compels the adoption of what is called impartial suffrage. Its purpose was to establish all over the United States one people, and that each of these may understand the constitutional fact that his privileges and immunities cannot be abridged by state authority, and that these

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Political-1929

West Virginia

6

6
Suffrage
NEWS
WHEELING, W. VA.

APR 29 1929

Candidates to Address Colored Voters Tonight

The colored voters of Wheeling will be addressed by candidates seeking municipal offices at an open meeting this evening at the colored Pythian building on Chapline street. Every candidate has been extended an invitation to speak before this gathering.